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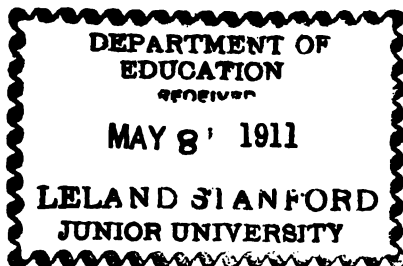
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EDITED

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH, PH.D.

ELIOT PROFESSOR OF GREEK LITERATURE IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY



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NIKE OF SAMOTHRACE
(Louvre)

A HISTORY
OF
GREEK SCULPTURE

BY
RUFUS B. RICHARDSON
FORMERLY DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS



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RICHARDSON. GREEK SCULPTURE.

W. P. 1

TO A FRIEND
WHO WAS A FRIEND INDEED

John Henry Wright

PREFACE

IN this work I have been materially assisted by the editor, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, to whose judgement I have often referred. Professor George H. Chase and Professor Harold N. Fowler have read all the proof sheets, and given me many valuable suggestions. Professor Arthur Sherburne Hardy has placed me under lasting obligation for his valuable assistance.

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

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INTRODUCTION

UNQUESTIONABLY one of the chief claims of the ancient Greeks upon the attention of the modern world is their sculpture. Schiller well selects this feature as their principal contribution to civilization, saying : —

“ Ein edles Volk hat einst gelebt.
Könnte die Geschichte davon schweigen,
Tausend Steine würden redend zeugen,
Die man aus dem Schooss der Erde gräbt.”

This art had, however, its beginnings in attempts which often produced only the grotesque. It is interesting to trace the successive steps by which it slowly proceeded from these first attempts to the glorious creations of Pheidias, and then, with the fading bloom of the national life, moved slowly down from these high ideals to realism, portraiture, and still more common themes. This constitutes the history of Greek Sculpture.

In this history the period just before and some time after the Age of Pheidias is by many, perhaps by the majority of those interested in art, considered or at least felt to be more interesting than that glorious age itself, which in its august altitude may be compared to a snow-covered mountain peak, while the periods before and after are like the pleasant slopes where one loves to dwell. The rude beginnings also and the ever more and more successful struggle for correct expression are full of interest ; and since to every historian there is nothing more interesting and important than origins, this field of archaic sculpture forms a large part of every handbook of sculpture. The last part of the course is also by no means a dreary waste. On the contrary, it is sometimes stated as a paradox that “the most interesting sculpture comes after the best period” ; and in very truth some of the most admirable works come after the six great sculptors, and even in what is sometimes loosely spoken of as the age of decadence. Thus

the history of Greek sculpture arouses unflagging interest from the beginning to the end.

This history has not been easily compiled, and, after all the patient and brilliant work which has been devoted to it, is still as incomplete as some of the torsos that furnish its subject-matter. It is true that from year to year gaps have been filled, and each new handbook or each new edition of existing handbooks marks an advance on its predecessors. This is largely the result of modern excavations, which have in the last three decades produced new material so rapidly that every handbook needs re-editing with each decade.

But after all, the history must ever remain incomplete from the nature of the material with which it deals, viz. (*a*) the sculptured remains and (*b*) the literary sources of our knowledge.

(*a*) The destruction of ancient statues has been almost complete, and has spared neither quantity nor quality. There were once, if we can trust our records, in 60-70 A.D., after Roman plundering had long been going on, three thousand statues at Rhodes, and at least as many at Athens, Delphi, and Olympia. These have practically all disappeared. Not only Pheidias, but the other great masters, were untiring producers. Lysippos, for instance, is said to have made fifteen hundred statues, every one of them excellent enough to have made him famous; but not one of them survives. There is a probable connection of Pheidias with the Parthenon sculptures, and of Skopas with the gable figures from the temple at Tegea. But we have only the Hermes of Praxiteles which we can with absolute certainty regard as an original work of any of the six great masters. Bases remain in tantalizing profusion with the names of the great masters inscribed on them.¹

¹ Löwy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, has collected these as far as was possible at the time of the publication of his work. Every important excavation, however, brings more and more to light. The excavations at Corinth, for example, brought out, in 1901, two bases inscribed with the name of Lysippos. But many, perhaps the greater part of such bases, bear names of sculptors who are not mentioned in the literary records.

Practically then, original Greek sculpture no longer exists. But before the masterpieces perished they had in many cases, by their excellence, incited rich Romans to procure copies of them, made by more or less skilful workmen. From a careful study of these copies there has been evolved in modern times a series of groups, which with more or less positiveness have been assigned to this or that master. Thus we have "the art of Polykleitos," "the art of Myron," and so on.¹ Coins also have proved valuable in conveying an idea of a vanished masterpiece by reproducing a famous temple image wholly or in part.² Gems also have rendered a like service in a less degree.

(b) The so-called literary sources of our knowledge of Greek sculpture are for the most part highly unsatisfactory. The Elder Pliny, in his chapters touching on the History of Art, gives quite full and somewhat systematic information about Greek sculptors, with some characterization of their works. But a close examination of this history reveals its untrustworthiness.³ That he is a borrower four or five times removed without formally acknowledging his indebtedness is somewhat excusable when one takes into account the old custom of literary stealing and the fact that he composed these chapters as a sort of addendum to his great Natural History, attaching it to the body of the work by a rather artificial bond,—bronze statuary, for example, being brought in as completing the discussion of metals. While we find interesting statements as to the development of the art and as to the contributions

¹ Never has this process been carried farther or with greater acumen than in Furtwängler's *Masterpieces*.

² E.g. a head of Zeus on a coin of Elis, *Numismatic Commentary*, Plate P, xxii; coins of Miletos with a statue of Apollo, Collignon, *Histoire de la sculpture grecque*, i. 312 f., which show the Piombino and Payne Knight bronze to be reproductions of the cultus statue in the Branchidae temple. The famous statue of Aphrodite of Knidos is in like manner revealed to us.

³ For a careful judgement of this strange and interesting compilation see Jex-Blake and Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*. Still later appeared Kalkmann, *Die Quellen der Kunstgeschichte des Plinius*. See also Robert, *Archaeologische Märchen*, 28 f.

made by the several great sculptors, these are like a few grains of wheat among bushels of chaff. A strong bias in favour of Lysippos and Xenokrates of Sikyon pervades the whole. In Pliny's chronology there is confusion worse confounded. He puts Pythagoras after Myron and both after Polykleitos, and brings the period of the bloom of Hagelaïdas, whom he makes teacher of Myron and Polykleitos, down to the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. He knows so little of the great field of archaic sculpture that one might think that for him the art of sculpture began with Pheidias. And yet so readable, and sometimes so racy, is his story, that we can forgive him for yielding to the desire to tell in his *opus magnum* something which all polite Romans wished to hear. The labour of several distinguished scholars of recent times has made it possible to use the art section of the work intelligently, and now much more than formerly it has become the chief ancient literary authority on the subject.

Pausanias, who mentions more statues than any other ancient writer, as far as he has any special interest in the subject, is concerned with statues distinguished for their antiquity or sanctity. He is satisfied if he can make them serve as the basis for the relation of religious or mythological yarns. It is useless to seek for any art criticism or history from him. He usually fails us just where we wish for information; and yet we owe him an immense debt of gratitude for his short descriptions of the Athena Parthenos at Athens and of the Zeus at Olympia. Lucian, undoubtedly the best art critic of all the ancient writers who have spoken of sculpture and sculptors, unfortunately touches the subject only casually. He could undoubtedly have written a fine history of sculpture; but he never thought of doing so.

The other so-called literary sources afford only such casual and fragmentary information that they are hardly worth taking into this summary account. Dion Chrysostom, Quintilian, and Plutarch might be mentioned; but when one begins with these, one hardly knows where to stop. All the gleanings of scraps of information or misinformation given in ancient writers may be

seen in Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*.

A brief description of the materials used and of the processes employed in Greek sculpture may seem in place here for the sake of completeness, even if it is nothing more than a repetition of what has already been said in other handbooks.¹

Wood may have been for a long period almost exclusively the material of Greek sculpture; and long after bronze and marble had supplanted it in general use, it still continued to be employed in certain cases. The wooden statues² which Pausanias saw at Corinth, gilded all over except on the face, which was smeared with red paint, were doubtless made in recent times in continuance of an old custom. The climate of Greece, unlike that of Egypt, which by its dryness has preserved to the present day many choice specimens of wooden sculpture of far greater antiquity, early destroyed those produced in Greece.

That wooden sculpture did not die with the introduction of marble and bronze is proved by the fact that in an inscription from Delos of 279 B.C. mention is made of a wooden statue of Dionysos which was fabricated every year for his festival.³ The prevalence of sculpture in wood in the earliest times is thought to be proved by the fact that when sculpture in stone came into vogue in the seventh century B.C., it not only often showed forms appropriate to wood carving, but also betrayed everywhere the habits and the use of tools such as belonged to workers in wood.⁴

That wood found application even in carved relief is seen from the description of the Chest of Kypselos.⁵ Moreover, since inser-

¹ For a brief treatment of the subject, see Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, 15 f. For fuller information one may consult Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, iii and iv, *passim*.

² For the use of the word ξύλον in Pausanias as always meaning a wooden statue, see Frazer on Paus. 1. 3. 5.

³ *B. C. H.* 14 (1890), 499.

⁴ For Athens, see Lechat, *Rev. Arch.* 17 (1891), 304 f., and later, *Musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes*, 12 f.

⁵ Paus. 5. 17. 5 f.

tion of gold and ivory was practised, we have here the beginning of chryselephantine statuary. Wooden sculpture was doubtless somewhat roughly hewn, since the paint was laid on thickly. In the case of the statue from Delos above referred to, the painter was paid as much as the carver. Since, however, we have no remains whatever of this wooden sculpture, we may turn to sculpture in stone and bronze.

The mention of Greek sculpture calls up in the minds of most people a picture of white marble, whose effect is due only to form, and which leaves on the beholder an impression of coldness. But bronze was in the great days of art much the most common material. Pliny, after giving a list of five great sculptors, including Pythagoras,¹ brings in Praxiteles by way of supplement, remarking that he worked mostly in marble. Praxiteles did work somewhat in bronze. Pheidias and Skopas divided their attention between the two materials, working less in bronze toward the end of their careers. But Lysippos, Polykleitos, and Myron worked almost exclusively in bronze. Not only athletic statues but most of the other figures which thronged the great centres of athletics and religion, standing out in the open air, were of bronze. This composition, made of copper and tin, mixed in varying proportions, with, it is said, occasional additions of the more precious metals, gold and silver, had many varieties, which were named from the places where they were manufactured, rather than from the mines whence their constituents were obtained. Corinthian bronze was the general favourite; and according to Pausanias got its peculiar quality from being dipped when red-hot into the fountain Peirene.² Delian and Aeginetan were said to be the favourites of Myron and Polykleitos respectively. Argive and Corinthian reliefs, so frequent in the archaic period, were presumably of Corinthian bronze. But no analysis has been able to establish local distinctions. Chalkis, which is said to have got its name from its great copper industries, is strangely omitted in the reports concerning localities where bronze was produced;

¹ Pliny, 34. 69.

² Paus. 2. 3. 3.

and copper mines in its neighbourhood do not seem to be well authenticated.¹ Cyprus was always the great copper-producing region most accessible to the Greeks. Besides the archaic reliefs just mentioned, very primitive bronze statuettes have been found in many parts of Greece, and notably at Olympia, which go back to a very early period.

Towards the end of the seventh century there was a great advance in the skill of bronze workers. Out of this fact probably came the story that the Samians, Theodoros and Rhoikos, who may be put in the beginning of the next century, invented bronze-casting. Since, however, bronze-casting was known in Egypt many centuries before this time, the story may be interpreted to mean that these Samians learned casting from Egypt, perhaps through the Samian colony at Naukratis,² and transmitted it to Samos.

At any rate, at about this time bronze statuary in the true sense appeared all over Greece. A statue of Zeus, which was put together by hammering plates of bronze into shape and then riveting them, was long shown at Sparta, purporting to have been made by Klearchos of Rhegion, who was probably a contemporary of the two Samians. If this was not an anachronism to start with, it must at least soon have become a curiosity.

Bronze statues, which now came into vogue, were sometimes, though rarely, cast solid. But as this consumed a great amount of metal, which, on account of the difficulty of obtaining it, was always of considerable value, it was the custom to make the statue hollow and as thin as was consistent with durability. Of the various methods adopted, the simplest was the *cire perdue*. Over a fireproof core large enough nearly to fill the completed statue a coating of wax, as thick as the intended casting, was carefully laid. This was modelled in detail (which because of its pliable surface was easy), and had the surface of the statue that was to be; for over it was laid another fireproof coating which we may call the mould, the first layers being of very fine clay laid on with a

¹ The case is summed up in Blümner, iv. 38.

² *Naukratis*, Part ii. 59.

brush ; and then followed coarser clay. When the molten metal was poured in between these fireproof walls, it melted out the wax and took its place ; and the statue was done.

Sometimes, perhaps, as at the present time, the core itself was carefully wrought, and a mould was made upon it of the thickness of the intended statue. The mould was then taken off in pieces and a thin coating of wax pressed into its hollows. Then a new core was made ; the hollow pieces of the mould, with the wax inside, being laid upon it. The wax was then driven out by the molten bronze which came in between the core and the mould.¹ The mould, being in two or more pieces, could be used repeatedly. The core in each case could be broken up, and as many statues as were required could be made from the same mould. But in the best days of Greece statues were probably seldom duplicated. That statues were cast in parts is evident from a vase of the fifth century,² which shows a bronze statue with the head missing and hand and foot hanging on the wall. Eye sockets were left hollow and filled in with glass, metal, etc., the colour of different parts being imitated.³ Whatever the difference in processes, it is certain that the moderns have never equalled the perfect finish of Greek bronzes. Their beauty, however, did not save them from destruction. The material being valuable to barbarians, especially for weapons, bronzes speedily found their way by the wholesale into crucibles.

Side by side with bronze, stone was employed for statues. The natural successor of wood, if wood was really exclusively used in the earliest times, was soft stone ; and, in Attika at least, that material was used before marble. Peiraeus stone, called by the

¹ Blümner, iv. 325 f. That the latter process was the one employed by Polykleitos may be inferred from his well-known saying, Χαλεπώτατον τὸ ἔργον ὅταν ἐν δορυκί ὁ πηλός. Of the *cire perdue* process he would have said κηρός and not πηλός.

² Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 506, Fig. 547.

³ This is seen in the Charioteer from Delphi (p. 121) and the large bronze from Antikythera (p. 275).

ancients *πῶρινος λίθος*, was at hand in abundance, and was generally employed in the architectural sculpture of Athens until well on into the sixth century. On this, colour was laid with an unsparing hand. The gables of temples erected on the Akropolis before the time of Peisistratos are the most notable examples of this practice.

But when with improved tools it was once found possible to carve marble, this easily and quickly supplanted all other kinds of stone. Long before Athens had taken this step the islanders, making a virtue of necessity, had made use of the harder material. But because marble statues are now more abundant than others, one must not forget that this was not the case from the beginning. Marble statues have survived in much larger quantity than those made of bronze, because marble was less valuable to the barbarians, who melted up masterpieces in bronze to make weapons and other implements. Hence many a famous original of bronze is represented to us only by some copy or series of copies in marble; for example, the *Diadumenos* of Polykleitos. But many good marble statues found their way into lime-kilns simply because they lay conveniently near at hand.

Naxos and Paros, lying side by side in the middle of the Aegean, had excellent kinds of marble. Paros had one quarry running deep into the heart of Mt. Marpessa, from which came the marble which most sculptors preferred. It was called *lychnites* because, it is said, it was quarried by the light of lamps (*λύχνος*). The other quarries of Paros yielded marble much like that of other islands, notably Naxos. Hence, the non-committal name of *island marble* is much in vogue. Naxian marble shaped by Naxian sculptors is found not only in Naxos, but in regions as remote as Samos, Boeotia, and Akarnania.¹ Naxian sculptors were active in Delos, making colossal statues in Naxian marble in the early part of the sixth century. In this century the Chian artists brought Parian marble to honour over a wide area. The large number of female statues set up on the Akropolis at Athens at this time were

¹ B. Sauer, *Alt-naxische Marmorkunst*, in *Ath. Mitt.* 17 (1892), 37 f.

of Parian marble. Reliefs, however, of the same time were usually made of Pentelic marble. In the Calf-bearer, Hymettos marble was used. This was poor bluish marble, and never gained much favour. In Attika during the fifth century Pentelic marble became the general favourite. The Parthenon sculptures, as well as the building itself, were made of it. But in the next century came a return to Parian; Praxiteles would use no other. Although it was coarser grained than Pentelic, it had a warm semi-transparent surface. But even one who has a good acquaintance with marbles cannot always readily distinguish between these two.

The only marble quarries known in the Peloponnesos are those at Doliana, near Tegea. Doliana marble was poor and dull compared with Pentelic and Parian; but sculptors in that part of Greece often preferred to put up with this poorer marble rather than transport their material over a long distance. The figures from the gable of the great temple at Tegea are made of it, although created by Skopas, who preferred Parian. The Romans in Greece showed a strong preference for Parian marble, most of the sculpture found in the excavations at Corinth from the later city, for example, being Parian. The Romans were also very fond of various red and green marbles, found in different parts of Greece; green (cipollino), notably but not exclusively in Thessaly and Euboea, and red (rosso antico) in Mt. Tainaron to the south of Sparta.

The processes and tools of the sculptor in marble were not unlike those in vogue to-day. A pointed chisel for the first rough work; then edged chisels, toothed chisels, and rasps.¹ It is often noticed as a sign of the lack of perfect finish that traces of the toothed chisel have not been entirely obliterated. The use of the drill is said by Pausanias to have been introduced by Kallimachos; but this is as far from the truth as possible, inasmuch as traces of the use of the drill go back at least to the pediment sculptures at Olympia and even to those of Aegina.

There are unfinished statues in various stages of incompleteness.

¹ For the forms in use among modern marble workers, see Blümner, iii. 194, Fig. 24.

One of these,¹ from the island of Naxos, is a good example of processes. It has hardly gone beyond the stage where the pointed chisel or punch was the only instrument required. It appears that the workman drove his punch with great freedom by blows of the hammer, unless it was perhaps a pointed hammer that did most of the work. He seems to have first sketched out on a rectangular block the breadth and thickness of his figure by drawing lines on the front and one of the sides, and to have started from these lines to cut straight into the block. But for some reason he stopped when he had got just far enough to produce some semblance to a human figure. There was found at the new English quarries near Ikaria a block like the one from Naxos, except that the forming process had not proceeded quite so far. It had gone just far enough to allow us to recognize a figure of the "archaic Apollo" type, a male figure with the left foot advanced and arms pressed close to the hips. The use of a clay model in making such early statues is hardly supposable; but there have been observed on some unfinished statues of a later date, usually copies, *puntelli*,² which imply working from such a model. There is, for example, one on the Massimi Diskobolos in the hair just above the forehead.

But it is probable that in the fifth century there were sculptors with methods like those of Michelangelo, who attacked his block with mallet and chisel, making the chips fly as if he felt that there was a statue imprisoned in it and that he must set it free. Perhaps this was the common practice. The sculptor had more opportunity then to become perfectly familiar with living models than the sculptor of to-day. Hence the confidence and inspiration of the Greek.

¹ Gardner, *Greek Sculpture*, p. 21.

² *Puntelli* should strictly designate the nails which were employed to transfer the measurements from the clay model to the marble statue. But the word is loosely used to designate also the knob that is left around the nail when the surface is chiselled down. These knobs remain, of course, only on statues which have not received the finishing touch.

PAINTING APPLIED TO SCULPTURE

The question that was seriously discussed less than half a century ago, whether Greek statues were painted, has now been replaced by another form of the question, viz. *how* they were painted. In the case of wooden statues (ξύρινα) there could never be any doubt. The sculptures in soft limestone (poros) found on the Akropolis at Athens, dating back to the seventh century, are seen to be as thoroughly painted as any wooden statues could be. The gable groups, including the famous "Blue-beard" group from the oldest Athena temple, by no means the oldest of the series, have the paint laid on, as it were, with a trowel. The original base material was entirely hidden by the coating. The favourite colours were red and blue. Since the background of the gables was, certainly in the case of the Hydra gable, and probably in the others also, of a neutral tint, the groups stood out in strong relief, like figures on black-figured vases. In the course of the sixth century came, with the introduction of red-figured vases, an inversion of this principle. Not only on vases did light figures appear on a dark background, but gable figures also stood out in the same manner.

In the great period of art inaugurated by Peisistratos and his sons, when Parian and other island marble succeeded poros, paint was still applied on the figures, but with considerable reserve and discretion. Some regard was given to the better material. In the great gable of the enlarged Athena temple, in which a battle of gods and giants was represented, the bodies had none of the old bizarre colouring. It is only the accessories, the borders of garments, the hair, eyes, lips, that are so accentuated. This is true also of the large series of female votive statues. The excavations on the Athenian Akropolis in 1886-1890 put a stop to all questioning of the *principle* of painting marble statues in the archaic period, down even to the Persian War. Here some were inclined to throw up breastworks and say, "Thus far and no farther." The idea of Pheidias painting his statues was repug-

nant ; and if colouring was to be applied, why should one choose the finest kinds of Pentelic and even the transparent Parian marble? But strong battalions of evidence have carried the whole line of resistance before them. No one can read a summing up of the evidence without surrendering to it absolutely and completely.¹ Even the nude parts were not left white and cold. Praxiteles said that his best statues were those that were touched up by the painter Nikias. This can hardly be taken to mean anything else than that the whole surface was covered by some sort of unobtrusive colouring ; and the investigation of the statues themselves shows abundant corroboration of the fact. The ancients seem to have felt that pure white marble was too brilliant, and needed toning down. This toning was doubtless that referred to in several ancient writers as *ganosis*. The application of stronger and weaker shades of colour continued down into late Roman times.

But after having accepted the fact, one may still feel less respect for Greek taste than he had before this knowledge was thrust upon him. The horrible cheapness of a waxwork collection will rise before one's vision. But in this matter we must trust to the taste of a people that has given such abundant proof of correct feeling. We must also remember that the great gold and ivory statues of Pheidias, the perfect flower of Greek statuary, afforded the crowning example of the application of colour. If, however, one should reply, "How do I know that we should have approved of these statues?" we can refer him to the Alexander sarcophagus, which silences every suspicion of bad taste.

The history of Greek sculpture is so long a story that it must be divided into chapters. These chapters are naturally limited by chronological lines. It will, however, be well understood that in this constantly flowing stream no hard and fast dividing lines can be established. Perhaps no better division can be made than the following, which does not aim at fine distinctions.²

¹ Collignon, *La polychromie dans la sculpture grecque*.

² It must be frankly confessed that we have nothing of importance to fill

1. *Oldest Period.* From the earliest undatable beginnings to 776 B.C. (First Olympiad.)
2. *Archaic Period.* From 776 to 480 B.C. (Persian War.)
 - (a) 776-540 B.C.
 - (b) 540-480 B.C.
3. *Blooming Period.* Fifth Century.
 - (a) Period of Transition, 480-450 B.C.
 - (b) Bloom, 450-400 B.C.
4. *Second Bloom.* Fourth Century.
5. *Hellenistic Period.* From the death of Alexander to the Destruction of Corinth, 323-146 B.C.

Classified as to its purposes sculpture may be divided as follows : —

1. *Architectural Sculpture.* The most imposing use is in gables. Metopes and friezes were also important decorations. Single figures and even groups were placed on the apex of the gable, on the corners of the building, or on both.

2. *Cultus Statues.* Every temple naturally contained one such statue. At Mantinea there was a *group* of Leto and her children. From the temple of Despoina, at Lykosura, we have considerable remains of such a group preserved.

3. *Votive Offerings*, anathemata. The archaic statues from the Athenian Akropolis, mostly female, the vast quantity of athletic statues at Olympia, Delphi, and other athletic centres, are cases in point. The donor sometimes wished to represent himself as ever standing in the presence of the divinity. He would therefore set up a figure of the divinity, that the god or goddess might take delight in it. This was called an *ἀγάλμα*. Votive reliefs form a large part of this class.

4. *Grave Monuments.* These in early times were composed of a single figure, usually in relief, *e.g.* the Aristion stele. After the sixth century, *groups* became more and more common in the reliefs. In the fifth and fourth centuries there were at Athens the great void between the Mycenaean civilization, which came to an end about 1100 B.C., and that of the rugged Greeks who climbed by slow degrees to power and culture.

very fine monuments of this class. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish sepulchral from votive reliefs. The relief from Chryseia near Sparta, for example, might be assigned to either class.

5. *Honorary Statues.* Examples of these occur from Harmodios and Aristogeiton to Demetrios of Phaleron, who is said to have had over three hundred statues erected to him in his short régime of about a year at Athens. The Diadochoi and the Caesars took up this custom with enthusiasm.

6. *Simply Ornamental Sculpture.* This class was especially popular in the Hellenistic period. See Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder*.

CHAPTER I

OLDEST OR MYCENAEAN PERIOD

HISTORIES of Greek art written a generation ago now look obsolete, mainly, but not entirely, because of the accumulation of new material for this period. One had always read, in the Homeric poems, of wonderful pieces of art, — the Shield of Achilles, for example, and the palaces of Menelaos and Alkinoös. But since one heard also of gold and silver dogs that guarded the palace of Alkinoös and golden boys holding candlesticks before the palace, it was, naturally enough, customary to regard these objects as existing only in the fancy of the poet. The wonder-working Daidalos went into the same category.

One substantial memorial of the oldest period, however, survived : two rampant lionesses¹ over the main gate of the citadel of Mycenae (Fig. 1). But they led to nothing ; they were solitary. In 1876 Schliemann passed through the gate, and discovered in an ancient cemetery traces of an imposing civilization which scientific archaeologists are still studying. He fondly thought that he had discovered the body of Agamemnon, and was at first derided by scholars for supposing that he had found anything so old as that. But it has been proved that this cemetery is much older than the time of Agamemnon, and that the greatness and brilliancy of this period was only inadequately set forth in the Homeric poems. Although immediately after the excavation of this cemetery traces of the same civilization kept coming to light all over the Aegean basin, nowhere else in that area was such a quantity of objects of art in gold of the period unearthed. Substantial masks beaten into such shape as to represent roughly the features of the dead whose faces they covered, diadems, bracelets, goblets,

¹ They may be lionesses. The heads are gone.

make only a small part of the inventory. The contents of the six pit graves make it quite certain that considerable intervals of time



FIG. 1. — Gate, with Lionesses, at Mycenae.

intervened between successive graves, and also between successive burials in any one of the graves. The whole period of interments could hardly be less than half a century, and was probably much

longer. No tradition of these buried dead has come down to us. The great beehive tombs, later than these pit graves, and the stateliest buildings of the period, would doubtless have afforded a higher estimate of the art of Mycenae had they not long ago been rifled of their contents. In them we should probably have found the bodies of the Pelopid monarchs, with treasures of art appropriate to the mightiest dynasty of Mycenae.

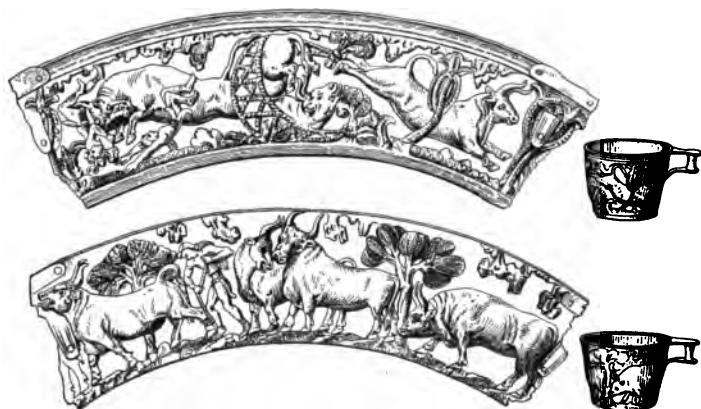


FIG. 2. — Vaphio Cups. (Athens, National Museum.)

From the place where the first great discovery of objects of art of this period was made it has been customary to call them all "Mycenae," whether found in Attika, Boeotia, or Thessaly. The choicest gold objects of the period hitherto discovered in Greece come not from Mycenae itself but from a beehive tomb at Vaphio, the ancient Amyklai, near Sparta. From a grave in the floor of this tomb came in 1889 two gold cups (Fig. 2), placed at the right and left hands of a body already decayed. These cups are ornamented in repoussé, on a band nearly three inches broad, the figures being about half an inch high. The ornament is on an outer cup, over which an inner lining is folded at the upper edge. A single handle at the top is fastened by three rivets.

The decoration gives two companion scenes. One is a bull-hunt in a wooded country. Two hunters, dressed in the usual loin-cloth and pointed shoes, are being roughly treated by a bull which has already tossed one hunter, now falling to the ground, and is in the act of goring the second to death. To the right of this group is a bull caught in a net bound to two trees, one of which he has wrenched from the ground by his struggles. In his contorted position he seems about to perform the impossible feat of bringing his hind legs down astride of his horns. It is quite evident that he will escape. The third bull, free from all trammels, rushes off to the right through trees or what may be taken to be trees. The two trees to which the net is bound might from their relative size properly be called bushes; and the bull might be supposed to uproot them easily. In fact, the trees were probably put in as space-fillers, and their size is regulated by this principle. A throbbing life and energy pervades the scene. We see the fierce fight, the breaking of bonds, the delight of freedom achieved. Here the brute triumphs over man. The other cup seems to give the sequel. A solitary man is in possession of the field. The beasts have submitted to the long-haired Achaean. The bull at the left has been recalcitrant, and one of his hind legs is therefore tied with a rope, while he bellows out his impotent rage. In the centre, two bulls are putting their heads together, one of them lowing, as if discontented, while the bull on the extreme right appears perfectly tamed. Man's conquest of the animal is complete. Man is supreme. What life and vigour palpitates in these figures! This is not borrowed art. It is taken straight from nature. It tells in the simplest way a clear story which cannot fail to interest.

In the following year the lucky finder of the cups, Tsountas, found in another beehive tomb on the western side of Taygetos a leaden statuette¹ which shows more clearly than smaller objects the usual Mycenaean male dress, a simple loin-cloth.

Some of the bronze daggers from the pit graves of Mycenae are beautifully inlaid with figures in gold. The best example is a lion-

¹ Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, Pl. 17.

hunt¹ in which every shade of victory and defeat is depicted. There are also fierce scenes of warfare in intaglio on seal rings.

In contrast to these splendid creations of the goldsmith's art are the works of the sculptors in stone, who wrought at Mycenae. The lionesses over the great gate, to be sure, even without their heads deserve admiration, although they are merely a heraldic decoration. The three carved slabs, however, erected over the pit graves, which are well enough preserved for us to form a judgement, seem to betray an absolute lack of feeling for art. They were well adapted to make Schliemann's foolish critics think that he had broken into a Gothic cemetery of 300 A.D. But the stately lionesses,² despite the loss of their heads, perhaps from that very loss, inasmuch as imagination here holds sway, are held to be fully worthy to represent the art of the mightiest line of kings that reigned within those walls.

In the museum of Candia in Crete is a chariot³ in relief which is far superior to the rude grave-stones found at Mycenae. The chariot has about the same pattern, showing the same small box and the same four-spoked wheel. But the horses and the warriors equipped with round shields, ready to mount the master's chariot, are vastly superior to the rude designs on the slabs at Mycenae, where the chariot box seems perched on the rim of the wheel, and the single horse is a monstrosity. Here the horses and the dog under them, as well as the men, are cut in excellent relief and are full of life. Instead of a single horse such as appears on the Mycenaean slab we have a clear indication of at least two horses. The art of Mycenae probably lagged behind that of Crete by a century or more, and the difference between them is shown by the breath of life in the Cretan relief and the clumsy silhouette at Mycenae.

By several "island gems," found in Crete and elsewhere, on which lions and other animals, some of them grotesque, are

¹ Tsountas and Manatt, Fig. 89.

² The material is a very hard limestone (anhydrite).

³ Von Mach, 5.

arranged in an heraldic attitude, with their fore paws on a cube hollowed out at the side, the Mycenaean group is taken out of its former isolation.¹ Lions in Phrygia grouped in the same way are not, as was once supposed,² prototypes of the Mycenaean group, but are much later.

On a wall of a room in the palace at Tiryns was found a painting³ of a bull galloping to the left with a man holding on to his horns and swept along, with one foot touching lightly the bull's back and the other swung aloft. The execution is poor, the result of several trials. Three attempts are clearly seen in the painting of the front legs and the tail. The painter was a bungler, but he doubtless had a good prototype in mind. The scene is no longer a puzzle. Since 1898 excavations in Crete have shown that this bull-baiting scene was a favourite subject there, not only in frescoes but in sculpture. An ivory statuette eleven and one-half inches high, from Knossos, doubtless formed a part of such a group (Fig. 3). Pieces



FIG. 3. — From a Bull-baiting Scene.
(Candia, Crete.)

of several other similar figures were found with it. The attitude of this very slender figure suggests that it was darting through the

¹ *J.H.S.* 21 (1901), Figs. 36, 37, 38, pp. 159-161. In the Mycenaean group the cube is doubled.

² *J.H.S.* 9 (1888), 368 *et al.*

³ Schliemann, *Tiryns*, Pl. 13.

air. We seem also to have fragments of a real group of most ancient toreadors in miniature. The bulls were doubtless present, moving on solid ground, and the youths were probably held aloft by wires. It is certain that we have here early examples of that gold and ivory sculpture which came to great honour by the hands of Pheidias. Remains of copper wire with gold foil twisted around it still adhere to the best preserved small head, which has also very expressive features. The youth was blond, like Achilles. Doubtless no one would assign these figures to a later period than 1500 B.C. Perhaps they are much older.

This is not the place to discuss fully the whole material of the Mycenaean period. We are concerned chiefly with sculpture. Knossos has yielded parts of two large reliefs¹ from a somewhat later time, the chest of a man with a fleur-de-lis collar painted on his neck, and the massive arm of a cup-bearer such as appears also on the frescoes of the palace of Knossos. These two pieces, like the statuette above mentioned, make us realize that there was sculpture before Agamemnon. What we know as Greek sculpture is a renaissance after a dark age. Ages passed before Greece produced in animal sculpture anything equal to the silver bull's head from a grave at Mycenae, with horns of gold and a gold-plated muzzle, or to the great bull's head in plaster (*gesso duro*) in the palace at Knossos.

Before closing the discussion of this period the best example of plastic art found in Crete may be here cited, although it is not sculpture. It is, however, plastic art. A vase found at St. Trinity near Phaistos has on its shoulder a band of figures in relief forming a procession, probably a harvest festival (Fig. 4). So much life and energy appears in it that one can hardly believe that it is so very old; but the facts compel us to call it as old as the other objects already mentioned.

As to chronology, what was learned from Mycenae has been supplemented in full measure in Crete. By the testimony of vases, whole and fragmentary, it has become certain that the art

¹ *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 7 (1900-01), 17 and 89.

and civilization brought to light at Mycenae existed in Crete without a break as early as 2000 B.C. In fact its beginnings were possibly earlier. It was probably at last broken up by invaders from the north, with little culture, called Dorians. These probably made their entrance gradually into the stately seats of the



FIG. 4. — A Harvest Home Procession. (Candia, Crete.)

older race, before and after 1000 B.C. That the old civilization did not at once perish everywhere is shown by the so-called Aegina Treasure in the British Museum, dating from as late as 800 B.C.¹ There was doubtless a period of several centuries during which the older race, more or less akin to the invaders and living side by side with them, so influenced them that they in time were transformed and civilized and became themselves lovers of art. In the resultant, passing under the name Hellenes, no one can estimate the percentage of old and new.

¹ *J.H.S.* 13 (1893), 195 f.; Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, 389 f.

CHAPTER II.

THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

SECTION A, 776-540 B.C. SECTION B, 540-480 B.C.

THE first part of the archaic period, from 776 to 600 B.C., is, for the history of sculpture, practically a blank. That there was work done both in stone and in bronze is proved by some very old statuettes from Olympia; but how much was done in wood we shall never know. This was an age of colonization. Greeks occupied the coast of Asia Minor. Smyrna, Ephesos, Miletos were founded. To the west the shores of Sicily and Magna Graecia were dotted with cities, of which Syracuse, in later times, became the chief. Trade and the free unfolding of civic life were the great objects of these colonists. Colonies became the mothers of other colonies, Miletos being credited with eighty. Art had to wait. But its hour came. The period from 600 to 480 B.C. is bewilderingly full of it. It is difficult to classify according to schools the mass of sculpture produced during that epoch. In the first half it is impossible. In the second half we begin to recognize local schools. We may divide the archaic period, so far as sculpture is concerned, into two sections: the first, from 600 to 540 B.C., and the second, from 540 to 480 B.C., and in the former follow for convenience a geographical order from east to west. There are, however, a few *types* of sculpture of such widely spread prevalence that they need to be treated as groups, irrespective of locality. At about 600 B.C. Greek sculptors were occupying themselves over a wide area with three principal types:—

- a. Standing male type, nude.
- b. Standing female type, draped.
- c. Seated male and female type, draped.

a. The first type has a very large representation in the islands of the Aegean and in Greece proper. It is the so-called "Apollo type." The first example that came to light was the Apollo of Thera, found in 1836; now, like the greater part of the Apollos, in the museum at Athens (Fig. 5). In it the characteristics of the type are most sharply expressed. These are:—

1. Long hair falling down over the back.

2. Shoulders broad in proportion to the hips.

3. Arms pressed stiffly against the thighs.

4. Hands closed not in the form of a fist, but with the thumb facing to the front touching the tip of the index finger, which is treated as if it had no joint. The whole hand is thus put out of joint.

5. Left foot advanced. But in all cases where feet are preserved both soles are pressed flat against the ground.

Since we find these five characteristics in Egyptian statues, there seems to be little doubt that the type was borrowed in some way from Egypt. Of Mycenaean influence there is not a trace. The numerous members of this class fall into two groups accord-



FIG. 5. — Apollo of Thera. (Athens, National Museum.)



FIG. 6. — Apollo of Melos. (Athens, National Museum.)

ing to facial expression. Those with the corners of the mouth turned up, the Apollos of Thera, Melos (Fig. 6), and Tenea (Fig.



FIG. 7. — Apollo of Tenea.
(Munich, Glyptothek.)

7), for example, have been felicitously designated as of the "grinning type," while those from Orchomenos and the precinct of Apollo on Mt. Ptoion, whose mouths are straight slits, have been given the name of "stolid type." There are minor differences in each class. The Apollo of Orchomenos (Fig. 8) has peculiarly square shoulders, while most of the others have them sloping.¹

It is interesting to notice the gradual improvement of this type. The best of the older examples is the one from Tenea.

But after that came an improvement amounting to a revolution. Some statues² from Aktion show the outline of the thorax. A headless statue from the Ptoion (Fig. 9) has the arms nearly



FIG. 8. — Apollo of Orchomenos.
(Athens, National Museum.)

¹ There is one case of an "Apollo" transferred to relief on a column-drum of the old Artemision at Ephesos. *J. H. S.* 10 (1889), Pl. 3.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 76.

free. They are bent at the elbow and held only at the wrists by supports two inches long, extending thence to the thighs. Here is all the "promise and potency" of action. The revolt has already taken place, but from shyness it has been half hidden. Another step and we have the smaller Apollo from the Ptoion (Fig. 10) with arms separated from the body. Owing to that audacity they were lost, all except the stumps. This final step was not taken until about 500 B.C. The whole series stretches over the entire sixth century, and comes down into touch with the Aegina gable groups. We ought not to believe that all these figures represent Apollo, although it is quite likely that some do. The last-mentioned example, found in the precinct sacred to Apollo, and dedicated to him by an inscription, undoubtedly does.

This type received a check in the fifth century at the hands of the Argive school, which threw back the left foot and put the weight of the body on the right. Thenceforth the terms 'firm-leg' and 'free-leg' are applicable.

δ. Another important group, but with fewer examples, is the standing female figure draped. The oldest example is the Nikandre statue found at Delos in 1878, an almost sexless figure, but doubtless intended for a female (Fig. 11). In fact this is made



FIG. 9. — Torso from the Ptoion.
(Athens, National Museum.)

certain by a boustrophedon Naxian inscription of about 600 B.C. on the left side of the skirt, if we may so call it, telling that Nikan-



FIG. 10. — Youth from the Ptoion.
(Athens, National Museum.)

dre of Naxos dedicated the statue to Artemis. Probably the goddess rather than the donor is here represented. This figure, slightly over life size, is appropriately catalogued in the Museum at Athens as "No. 1." There is nothing in Greek sculpture more primitive. An ellipsoidal block of Naxian marble, originally rectangular, has by very little carving been brought to a semblance of a human figure. Here, if anywhere, we catch a carver in wood turning his attention to stone, and employing instead of a thick wooden plank a stone block of similar shape.¹ At the bottom, just

above the projection that once fitted into a socket on a base, he has cut away a part of the skirt in order to present the feet, two formless stubs. The skirt encloses the legs like a sheath, narrowing upwards slightly until it reaches the waist, which is made by cutting out a little marble between the body and the arms. From the waist there is a broadening out again until at the breast and shoulders the original breadth and thickness of the block is resumed. Only in carving the head was any considerable amount of marble cut away, and there only at the top. The face is now badly battered and worn, probably because it had long been walked upon. Only the carefully elaborated hair falling down the back has been preserved perfectly.

¹ Unless, indeed, the shape of the figure is due to the shape of the stone as it came from the quarry.

When the statue was first set up, it doubtless made a better impression than now. It was liberally painted. Besides some neutral tint spread over the whole surface, traces of a meander pattern on the girdle are still visible. Two or three similar bands running horizontally around the skirt were once traceable. Holes bored horizontally through the clenched hands from front to rear show that some adornment or perhaps attributes were held in them.¹ Strings of beads have been suggested. Less probable seems the suggestion of bow and arrow for the archer goddess. This figure did not stand alone at Delos. Four similar statues less well preserved are catalogued in the museum at Mykonos, one with a better preserved head.



FIG. 11. — Statue dedicated by Nikandre. (Athens, National Museum.)

From the Ptoion comes the lower left-hand part of a figure² with an archaic inscription, and with the corners not rounded off. From the same place comes also a statuette³ in the shape of a thick rectangular block with its corners slightly shaved down. The arms are abnormally long and not detached from the body; two locks fall over each shoulder to the front. The breast is fuller than others of the period. The face is unfortunately broken away. From the same place comes the head of a statue broken off at the neck which seems to show the carver in wood trying his hand in stone (Fig. 12). From Eleusis comes a headless statuette⁴ about a foot high, like the former, with patches of red paint still on it. But in this we have a distinct advance. Not only is there more human form, but more attention is given

¹ *Arch. Zeit.* 40 (1882), 322.

² *B.C.H.* 10 (1886), Pl. vii.

³ Cp. Kabbadias, *Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου*, No. 4.

⁴ *Éphéméris Archæiologiké*, 1884, Pl. 8, 1 and 1A.

to the garments and hair. It points forward to the "Maidens" of Delos and of the Athenian Akropolis; but it is not one of that



FIG. 12. — Head from the Ptoion. (Athens, National Museum.)

company. It stands ready, however, to join hands with them; and from this point onward there are not lacking links in the chain that binds the formless statue dedicated by Nikandre to the radiant creatures of Pheidias and Praxiteles.

c. Seated female and male type draped.

The Athenian museum contains two very old examples of this type. The first,¹ of Doliana marble, is headless, badly worn from having long been used as a horse-block at Frankovrysi (Asea). The statue is "all one" with its chair, so that one can hardly think


of it as having the power of rising. The arms are, as it were, glued both to the body and the chair. It is sexless, unless the inscription "Agemo" or "Ageso" makes it feminine. The second figure,² in poros, was found on the road from Argos to Tripoli and shows an advance in this type. Instead of having the arms glued to the chair and the body, the elbows are thrown forward so as to give the impression that it is ready to rise from the chair and act. Strikingly like it is another poros figure³ from Eleutherna in Crete. Both are extremely Egyptian in appear-

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 144.

² *B. C. H.* 14 (1890), Pl. ii.

³ *Revue Arch.* 21 (1893), Pl. 3 and 4.

ance. Fragments of a similar figure in Pentelic marble were found near the Dipylon gate at Athens.

Several of the figures which once lined the Sacred Way leading from the harbour, Panormos, to the Branchidae temple belong in this series (Fig. 13). One of the oldest¹ is inscribed with the name Chares, who was ruler of a neighbouring city, Teichioussa. Here the man is, as it were, grown to the chair, and both together form a three-quarter section of a cube, thus ²

The development of this type also may be traced. Two female statues, one from the Sacred Way and the other from Miletos itself, take us along to nearly the same stage as the seated Athena from the Athenian Akropolis, who, however, makes a step farther than they, in that she,

with her right foot drawn back, seems about to rise and act. This line if followed out would be seen to end in the seated figures on the Parthenon frieze and in the gables. This constitutes one great charm in the study of archaic Greek sculpture. The progress from the old types goes on step by step, and we view the



FIG. 13.—Seated Statue from Branchidae.
(British Museum.)

¹ Newton, *Discoveries at Halicarnassus*, Pl. 74; Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 142 a; Von Mach, 36 a.

² A smaller figure of the same type was to be seen, May, 1903, lying in the bushes beside the bridle path leading from Miletos to the temple.

Apollo of Thera, the statue dedicated by Nikandre, and Chares as respected ancestors of a mighty line.

Before 540 B.C. an enormous amount of sculpture had been produced, a fair proportion of which has been preserved. Had we as many originals of the period of bloom, how fortunate we should be ! Our authorities tell of Dipoinos and Skyllis, sons or pupils of Daidalos, and of Smilis of Aegina, of Klearchos of Rhegion, of Endoios of Athens, pupils of Daidalos. While we have to treat Daidalos as mythical, it is specifically recorded of his sons, Dipoinos and Skyllis, that they had works scattered all over the Peloponnesos, at Sikyon, Argos, Kleonai, and Tiryns, and even in Epirus at Ambrakia. It is also reported that they founded a school in Sparta with Tektaios and Angelion as representatives. We hear of an Argive school represented by Eutelidas and Chrysothemis. Smilis also appears to have had a real career, though perhaps not in Aegina. In the same category fall Dontas and Dorykleidas, as well as Gitiadas, at Sparta. Even more real seem Telekles, Theodoros, and Rhoikos of Samos as well as Glaukos of Chios. But it is only when we come to the famous sculptor-family of Chios, of which Archermos is the most important, that we seem to touch firm ground and to find a work of art that we can ascribe to a sculptor of this time.

It seems a waste of words to discuss sculptors who have left no works ; but there were two examples of the art of this period, both vanished, which can hardly be passed over in any history. These are the Chest of Kypselos and the Throne of Apollo, falling under the head of decorative art. The former was seen by Pausanias¹ in the opisthodomos of the temple of Hera at Olympia. It need not be supposed that this was the veritable chest in which Kypselos, the father of Periander, was concealed to save his life. It is not unlikely that Periander himself, Corinth's most powerful sovereign, had this token set up as an offering not long before his death, in 585 B.C. It was no ordinary chest, but a gift fit for the gods, and as such, it was given a place in the temple. It was of cedar, and the figures on it were carved partly out of the wood, partly in ivory set

¹ Paus. 5. 17. 5 ff.

into the wood, and partly in gold. It was an early case of chryselephantine work. The arrangement of the figures was like that seen on the old Corinthian vases contemporary with it. They were deployed in a series of bands. The very scenes, too, are sometimes paralleled on the vases. Out of thirty-three all but two or three are mythological. Some old Argive or Corinthian bronze reliefs¹ may aid us in representing to ourselves their appearance. Inasmuch as the chest was set up against a wall it is supposed that the abundant decoration was confined to the front side or to that and the two ends.²

The other work, the Throne of Apollo at Amyklai, also enjoyed great renown; and Pausanias³ devotes to it also a detailed description. Apollo was not sitting on the throne, but was standing on it, and probably enclosed by it on three sides. A coin of Sparta⁴ represents the statue. The body is enclosed in a sheath, and for this reason the god was hardly able to sit down on his throne. He held a bow in his left hand and a spear in his right. The statue, forty-five feet high, was probably much older than the throne, which was built for it by Bathykles of Magnesia on the Maeander, a sculptor of great repute at that time.

As long as Croesus held sway on the coast of Asia Minor life was tolerable to Greek artists; but when Cyrus broke the Lydian power, about 546 B.C., the storm burst upon the Asiatic Greeks. There was then no more call for artists. Bathykles' migration to Sparta probably took place at that time, although it is possible that the art-loving Croesus may have sent him earlier to Sparta, to please a state with which he was on friendly terms. The restoration of the throne built by him is, even in imagination, much more

¹ Collignon, i. 88, 89. Gardner, 63.

² The best representation of the order of scenes is that of H. Stuart Jones, *J.H.S.* 14 (1894), 30. See Gardner, 77. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, 723 f., puts the work several decades later and denies all connection with the Kypselids.

³ Paus. 3. 18 9 ff.

⁴ Collignon, i. 231, Fig. 110.

difficult than the restoration of the Chest of Kypselos.¹ A thorough excavation of a mound, at the edge of which a part of a half elliptical base was uncovered, about 1900, has afforded valuable information. The throne was placed on the grave of Hyakinthos, which dates back to remote antiquity. Mycenaean objects were found all about the mound. It is likely that bronze plates preserved the wooden structure down to the time of Pausanias.

Assos. — It is a relief to turn to works which have actually survived. At Assos, which from a commanding position looks south-



FIG. 14. — Reliefs from Assos. (Louvre.)

ward towards Lesbos, considerable sculptured remains of an early temple were discovered, the greater part of which was brought to the Louvre in 1838. Some important additions were made by the American excavations conducted by J. T. Clarke in 1881.² Two

¹ It has been attempted by Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, 689 ff., Fig. 135, but the result is not particularly impressive or convincing. Furtwängler's claim that Bathykles belonged to the Samian school may be allowed. This work was a greater undertaking than the Kypselos chest.

² J. T. Clarke, *Report on the Investigations at Assos*, i, Boston, 1882; ii, New York, 1898.

sphinxes facing each other were probably placed over the main entrance of the temple. Several metopes may be passed over as of minor importance. But the band of figures (Fig. 14), which singularly enough was carved on the architrave, affords great interest. Among the remains still preserved Herakles is conspicuous, combating a Centaur and a Triton. There is also a large banquet scene. These figures carved on blocks of very dark trachyte must have appeared very sombre.¹

The sculpture appears very archaic, especially the Centaur slab, where the long slender animal body is a mere appendage to the human body which seems embarrassed by it. In the Triton scene and in the banquet scene the principle of isokephaly is emphasized. The figures standing upright are as pygmies compared to the reclining feasters and the struggling Herakles. This does not, however, seem out of place in the case of Herakles, since it lifts him above mere human beings. But it may be doubted whether the banqueters are more than ordinary mortals. Here, certainly, is a robust art,—the Herakles reminding us of the same intensity of struggle in the similar group from the oldest Athena temple at Athens. The carving of reliefs on the architrave may be a suggestion of the time when the architrave was really a wooden beam, which was then cased with bronze relief. We doubtless have here Ionic art, and although this is a case of provincial art lagging behind that of the great centres, we cannot reasonably put it later than 540 B.C.

Miletos. — But Miletos, the great Ionian metropolis, has somewhat more to show from her wreck. Besides the survivors of the line of statues, male and female, along the Sacred Way to the Branchidae temple two male heads somewhat worn were found near the site of the temple itself, one of which is now in the British Museum,² the other in the museum at Constantinople.³ Their

¹ The paint was possibly applied on a thin coat of stucco.

² Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, viii. 281, Fig. 113.

³ Perrot-Chipiez, *ibid.*, Fig. 114. This head may come from Branchidae. See *B. C. H.* 8 (1884), 331 ff.

coiffure differs slightly, that of the Constantinople head being more elaborate ; but the features are strikingly alike.

Samothrake. — Of the islands of the Aegean, Samothrake affords a relief¹ representing Agamemnon seated on a stool and behind him Talthybios and Epeios, the maker of the wooden horse, each identified by an inscription ; Talthybios also by his herald's staff. To the right, considerably mutilated, is a dragon with wide-open mouth. The great coil is a sort of horn attached to the back of his head. The lower border of the relief is a guilloche pattern, while the upper border appears to consist of alternate forms of the lotus as seen in profile and from above.² The relief is very flat. The garment of Agamemnon is not noted on his formless body ; on the others it is indicated, as on the statue of Chares (p. 45), by a few incised lines. We seem to have a scene in painting transferred to relief. Samothrake being a colony of Samos, we have here Ionic art. The plaque appears to be one of a series belonging, perhaps, to a throne or to a statue base.

Naxos. — Naxian sculptors at this time seem to have devoted themselves to making "Apollo" statues, mostly colossi, for the neighbouring Delos. Of two such colossal statues³ in Naxian marble, one lies broken in the sanctuary, and of the other we have only the inscribed base. Two similar colossi⁴ probably destined for Delos are in Naxos itself. When the tyrant Lygdamis was overthrown, the artistic activity of Naxos seems to have been checked.

Chios. — A statue which has made as much stir as any work of this period, though found in Delos, is probably a specimen of Chian art. Delos was a common centre for votive offerings of all the Greeks, but never had a school. Literary tradition assures us that Chios had besides Glaukos, the worker in bronze, a family of

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 231 a.

² Analogous forms appear on the base from Lambrika (Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 66 b).

³ *B. C. H.* 17 (1893), Pl. 5 ; *ibid.*, 12 (1888), Pl. 13.

⁴ Ross, *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln*, i. 39 ff.

sculptors of whom Archermos was the most celebrated, although his sons Bupalos and Athenis were also sculptors of note in 540 B.C.¹ The father of Archermos, Mikkiades, was also a sculptor. It is not clear that Melas, whom Pliny calls the father of Mikkiades, was a real person.²

When in 1877, at the beginning of the French excavations at Delos, an archaic winged figure was found, Homolle called it a winged Artemis (Fig. 15). Furtwängler, however, recalling a statement³ that Archermos was the first to give Nike wings, declared it to be Nike and a work of Archermos.⁴ When shortly afterwards a base was found near by, which distinctly mentioned Archermos as having worked with his father on a statue, Furtwängler's conjecture seemed to have received sudden corroboration, and the statue was generally accepted as the winged Nike of Archermos, and welcomed as a most important figure in the development of sculpture, and a masterpiece of the Chian school. She is represented as flying rather than running through



FIG. 15.—Winged Nike. (Athens, National Museum.)

space, having been provided with three pairs of wings: one large pair attached at the back, a very small pair at the shoulders, and another pair at the ankles. She is moving rapidly to her right, the

¹ Pliny, 36. 11. Pliny makes four generations extend over a space of 240 years, which is impossible.

² Robert, *Arch. Märchen*, 117.

³ Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Birds*, 573.

⁴ *Arch. Zeit.* 40 (1882), 324.

right arm (restored) extended in the direction of her flight, the left (also restored) pressed against her left hip. She is completely clothed, although signs of clothing from the waist upward are lacking, except that the pattern of the painted garment has left its traces in the better preservation of the surface. The skirt, which is wrought out in marble, extended downward between the feet and formed the actual connection with the base.¹ Down to the girdle, which bore a meander pattern, everything is calculated for a front view; but with no mediation, all below that is arranged for a side view, a common practice in archaic art. The figure, with all its paint still fresh upon it, its diadem adorned with metallic rosettes, its necklace and ear-rings shimmering, and set up on the painted Ionic capital of a short column, or serving as an akroterion of some building, thus appearing to fly through space, must have been a striking one. It was the beginning of a series which had for its culmination the Nike of Samothrake.

If the connection of the figure with the base were certain, it would have to be placed near the beginning of the sixth century B.C., at the same time with the statue dedicated by Nikandre which at once conveys the impression of greater antiquity. In the present case, however, we are dealing with a bold innovation which might have been made within a few decades of Nikandre's statue or the Apollo of Thera. Some authorities see in its features a striking resemblance to the latter. Half a century might be supposed to elapse between it and the "Maidens" of the Akropolis.

The connection of the statue with the base has been disputed by B. Sauer,² who maintains: (a) That the breadth of the socket on the top of the base is too great for such a figure as the Nike. The garment would have to spread out abnormally to fill the socket, and no sculptor would have chosen for a thin figure like this a block of valuable Parian marble so thick as

¹ This is made certain by archaic bronzes representing similar archaic Nikes. Cp. De Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, Nos. 799-814.

² *Ath. Mitt.* 16 (1891), 182.

to require the cutting away of two thirds of it as waste. (*b*) That the shape of the socket is appropriate only to a squatting animal, which in this case was probably a sphinx.

But so strong has become the conviction that we have here the art of Chios, that even if the connection of this statue with the base be rejected, many, perhaps most, authorities still cleave to the opinion that this is Archermos' Nike. We should simply stand on the same ground that was held before the base was discovered.

Ephesos.—The reliefs from the drum or drums of the columns of the old Artemision at Ephesos have a peculiar value because a fairly definite date can be assigned to them. According to Herodotos (I. 92) most of the columns of this temple were gifts of Croesus, who reigned from 560 to 546 B.C. The male, of the Apollo type (Fig. 16), whose body is fairly well preserved, wears a chiton with the same shallow folds as those on the Nike of Archermos. His mouth is so large that the "archaic smile" here becomes a monstrosity. The head of the female,¹ however, which is fairly well preserved, is a treasure of archaic Ionic art, and shows what an advance that art had made since the production of the



FIG. 16.—Archaic Drum of Column at Ephesos. (British Museum.)

¹ Perrot-Chipiez, viii. 322-323, Fig. 136.

Nike. An interval of some forty years would hardly seem too great.

Samos. — A figure found in Samos near the Heraion (Fig. 17), and from a dedicatory inscription justly supposed to fall near the end of this period, carries with it several related figures found on the Athenian Akropolis (Fig. 18). It may, therefore,



FIG. 17. — Samian Hera.
(Louvre.)



FIG. 18. — Samian Maiden. (Athens,
Akropolis Museum.)

seem proper to treat this statue in connection with that group, even if most of its members fall into the next period (p. 76).

Boeotia. — Passing to Greece, we find in the Athenian museum numerous examples from Boeotia of the Apollo type, both in marble and in bronze statuettes, mostly from the Ptoion. These are examples of the "stolid type." The face of the Apollo of

Orchomenos is somewhat battered; a perfectly preserved head of a similar figure¹ from the Ptoion has insipid features. More interesting is a head without a body, also from the Ptoion (Fig. 12), which seems an imitation of wood carving, the nose being slashed out in a series of planes and the mouth being a simple slit. Anything more primitive could hardly be found; and yet it may be no older than the figures just described.

A remarkable duplication of the Apollo type in a single stone comes from Tanagra (Fig. 19). It is doubtless funereal in character. Two persons, presumably brothers or intimate friends, are represented in an affectionate attitude. The arm of each figure, which is supposed to be thrown around the neck of the other, really comes down out of the coping which projects from the background over the loving pair. In only one respect is there a deviation from the Apollo type; the *right* leg of the right-hand figure is thrust forward; thus two feet at the centre project. There is some attempt at making knees, but it has resulted in grotesque looking pads instead of real knee-pans. That there might be no confusion of identity, the stonecutter — we can hardly call him an artist — has conscientiously carved at the right and left of the figures "Kitylos" and "Dermys." The dedicator, Amphalkes, states in an inscription at the bottom that he erected this work to Kitylos and Dermys. The mutilation of the faces may be attributed to the early Christians.



FIG. 19. — The Dermys and Kitylos Relief. (Athens, National Museum.)

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 126; Von Mach, 15 a.

Attika. — When in 480–479 B.C. the Persians, besides destroying the temples on the Akropolis, mutilated the numerous statues, the Greeks regarded them as of no value, and subsequently used them with other blocks as filling for converting the Akropolis, which had been a long ridge, into a plateau. These, exhumed in the excavations of 1886–1890, have become of immeasurable value in the history of art. Several gable groups in poros have been put together out of many fragments with striking results.¹

The oldest of these groups is the Hydra gable,² in which Herakles at the centre appears in the act of knocking off severally the nine heads of the Lernaean Hydra, which fills the entire right half of the gable, its coils diminishing in size down to the corner. Herakles, thrown back into the left half is delivering a blow as he strides to the right. To the left of Herakles, Iolaos, facing to the left, is mounting a chariot, one foot being in it and the other on the ground. His head is turned to the rear as on a swivel. In front of the horses is a gigantic crab, the helper of the Hydra. The gable, made of six pieces, is small, only about eighteen feet long and three feet high at the centre. The material in which the figures are cut is soft poros full of shells, and the relief is very low, only about an inch and a half at the highest. The grouping shows considerable skill. The Hydra, of course, naturally fills its half of the gable. On the left the descending line falls from the head of Iolaos down over the descending necks of the horses, which are made to bend down their heads and sniff at the frightful, monstrous crab in the corner. The figures were painted with heavy colours — black, green (probably originally blue), and red — against a lighter background. The Hydra was black with green (blue) heads, and open, red mouths; the crab was red. It is to be noted that there are only two human figures in the gable.

¹ This was a long process; and longer still has been the attainment of the scientific explanation of them, which, after many errors, seems to have reached almost definitive form in Wiegand's *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 16; Von Mach, 40 a.

A gable of about the same size as this, but in very high relief, contains Herakles, dark red, grappling with a Triton.¹ On account of the difference in the relief it can hardly be assigned to the same building.

The important groups, however, are those now shown to have belonged to the gables of the old pre-Peisistratean Athena temple. Here Herakles appears wrestling with a larger Triton, the group filling the left half of the gable. The struggle culminates at the centre, the Triton's tail reaching, with its sinuosities, clear into the corner. The mighty Herakles is at the utmost tension. As if there were not toil and trouble enough for Herakles, out of the right half of the gable comes flying through the air a triple-bodied Typhon



FIG. 20. — Typhon from the Athenian Akropolis. (Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

(Fig. 20), surrounded with serpents and holding fire in his hands. This is the so-called Bluebeard group, made into a single being by the two wings on the outside shoulders. Thus the west gable was filled. The east gable has been only partially reconstructed. A head, formerly supposed from its diadem to belong to Zeus engaged in a combat with Typhon, in the west gable, was found to belong to a brilliantly painted figure long known, and seated on an elaborate throne. Zeus was now taken out of the Typhon battle and placed in the east gable. He was seated turned to the right, since on his left side his beard was not worked out. Crossing his foot was another foot at right angles to his. Another figure, which was supposed to have been Athena, was placed in the centre of the field. Her throne touched the foot of Zeus. A third figure,

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 472.

all traces of which are lost, was posited to make a triad. To the right and left the remaining space was filled by two serpents.

The contrast between such a gable and that of Aegina is at least startling. The world was taken by surprise to find such products of art on the Athenian Akropolis. Here was no Attic grace, but a robust, fleshy life. On the red Typhon three heads were seen with great bulging eyeballs and blue beards. In the rear, the triple bodies ended in a coil like entwined serpents with colours of red, white, and blue. The Triton had equally variegated colours. Force and brilliancy are here but no grace. On this stem was soon to be grafted Ionic art with its ever graceful forms. But the old Attic force, after appropriating what it needed in the way of gracefulness, went on its way.¹

One other poros group,² not belonging to a gable but contemporary with the groups, is worthy of praise. It represents a bull overcome by two lions. He is pressed down flat to the earth, while the lions tear him with their claws. The bull is considerably restored; and only the claws and parts of legs of the lions are preserved; but one may get a very good idea of the whole. It has much more life and vigour than the similar group on the Assos frieze. The bull is blue. Over his side flow streaks of blood from the places where the lions' claws tear his flesh.

Besides the groups already mentioned there are several figures in poros which have not yet been assigned to any groups. There are two heads in the Akropolis Museum so formless that they seem the first essays in stone by one long used to carve in wood with

¹ The scholars who have most closely and successfully studied the poros groups on the Akropolis are Theodor Wiegand and Hans Schrader. The description given above is derived from Wiegand's book mentioned on p. 56. Furtwängler, *Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akad.*, 1905, III, 433 ff. (*A. J. A.* 10 (1905), 189), argued that the so-called Typhon was not one person but three (wind-spirits), and that the western pediment was filled by Herakles and Triton on one side and a great serpent on the other, while the seated Zeus, the seated Athena, and a standing Hermes were in the eastern pediment.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 456; Von Mach, 41.

tools appropriate to wood. These look more antique than anything in the gable groups.

The Calf-bearer, or Moschophoros, made of Hymettos marble, was found on the Akropolis in 1864 (Fig. 21). Twenty-three years later, in the great excavations, a base was found to which the figure evidently belonged. On this was an inscription stating that Kombos, the son of Pales, dedicated the statue. The inscription confirmed the impression made by the style of the figure, that it belonged to the early part of the sixth century. The art of Athens, having run its course through the softest kinds of poros to the harder kinds in the Typhon-Triton groups, was now ready to attempt the more difficult task of carving marble. In the Calf-bearer we see this attempt. The sculptor appears still to have used the old tools, especially the gouge, traces of which are seen above and below the eyes; and between the furrows a ridge extends outward from the outer corners of the eyes. In fact many features are explained by the supposition that we have the work of a sculptor in poros who transferred his work to marble. The Calf-bearer stands like the old Apollo figures with the left foot advanced. But it has broken with the Apollo series in one respect. It is clothed, although the clothing is not obtrusive. It was once doubtless helped out by paint. The eye sockets still contain a hard white substance into which pupil and iris were probably inserted.



FIG. 21.—Calf-bearer. (Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

On the whole, the figure is much more stiff and expressionless than the Typhon. Some praise the calf as superior in execution to the man; but what a monstrosity is the fore leg of the calf!

In an ancient graveyard not far from Keratia was found an Apollo figure which in every way shows an advance upon other members of the series, surpassing even the Apollo of Tenea in hair, muscles, and features, and carrying the series down to about 540 B.C.¹

Sparta. — Turning now to Sparta, we find its sculpture represented by several grave reliefs, the most prominent of which, now in the Berlin Museum, was found at Chrysapha, about nine miles from the city. Two figures² are seated on a throne, facing to the right. The male, who has his face turned to the spectator, holds in his right hand a cantharus. The female, of equal size, holds in her right a pomegranate and looks straight ahead. In front of them approach two diminutive mortals not reaching to their knees, male and female, with offerings; the male bringing a cock and an egg, and the female a pomegranate and a flower. There can be no doubt that the large figures are deities, or more probably heroized dead. The art is extremely rude. The drapery on the seated male figure is of the same kind as that of Chares from Branchidae (p. 45). His left arm is a monstrosity. The veil, if it really is a veil, which is being lifted by the female is very clumsily represented. Considerable attention is given to the details of the throne and one of the sandals of the male figure. A serpent, which raises its head over the top of the throne from behind and fills with the coil of its tail the whole space under it may have some reference to the underworld. The rough stump below the relief shows that the block was embedded in the soil. The ambitious attempt to represent one figure *en face* and the other in profile, and to give the relief a considerable depth, is worthy of note.³ The con-

¹ Kabbadias, *Ephemeris Archaeologiké*, 1902, Pl. 3.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 227 a; Von Mach, 367 a.

³ In the museum at Sparta are several reliefs of the same kind; see *Ath. Mitt.* 2 (1877), 293. A part of a similar scene was found at Tegea (Collignon, i. 235) and is probably a product of Spartan art.

tours of the arms especially have been thought to show traces of wood carving.

The museum at Sparta has a block¹ of local greyish blue marble like the Chrysapha stone, with the field tapering upward, sculptured on both faces. On one face is a love scene and on the other a murder scene. On the thick edges of the slab are coiled serpents. The male figures, which alone have any anatomy, are extremely stumpy and remind one of the Perseus metope from Selinus.

Olympia.—Although much of the art of Olympia before 540 B.C. has been destroyed, we have at least two pieces of some importance. One is the colossal limestone head with a polos, supposed to be the head of Hera (Fig. 22), who was probably enthroned in the old temple by the side of an



FIG. 22.—Archaic Head of Hera (Olympia).

equally archaic Zeus. The other is the fragment of the gable of the Treasury of the Megarians, on which a giant, thrust backwards to the right by Zeus, is almost perfectly preserved.²

We cannot ascribe these works to any particular school; but there seems to be a sort of kinship shown by a certain brutal stockiness between the Spartan sculptures and those at Olympia. To these might be added a bronze head from Kythera³ and a marble head from Meligou.⁴

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 226.

² *Olympia: die Ergebnisse*, iii, Pl. 3.

³ *Arch. Zeit.* 34 (1876), 20.

⁴ *Ath. Mitt.* 7 (1882), 112, Pl. 6, Perrot and Chipiez, viii. 449, Fig. 222.

Corcyra. — We may with some probability ascribe to the art of Corinth the limestone lion¹ found on the tomb of Menekrates and now kept in the governor's palace at Corfu. Its elongated form and little elaboration fits the early date of the tomb.

Sicily. — We now pass to the extreme west of Hellas. Selinus, founded about 625 B.C., was doubtless not slow in rearing temples to the gods, as soon as material prosperity was achieved. A probable date for the earliest temples on its akropolis is 575 B.C.



FIG. 23. — Archaic Metope from Selinus.
(Palermo Museum.)

A century later, three great temples were built on a plateau about a mile to the east of the city. The earliest² of the akropolis temples has afforded us three metopes put together of many pieces,³ found by Angell and Harris, two English architects, in 1822. Since the metopes diminished in breadth from the centre of the gable toward the ends, it was possible to assign all three to adjacent positions under the right wing of the gable. The most interesting of all these is the middle one, which represents

Perseus killing Medusa, with Athena standing by (Fig. 23). This is one of the most important documents in the history of sculpture. The forms are robust and the faces expressionless. The action is supposed to be fierce; but the sculptor has not been

¹ Collignon, i. Fig. 104.

² Usually designated as *C*, and probably a temple of Apollo.

³ Twenty-three, forty-eight, and fifty-nine, in order, as described. The temple had ten metopes all on the east end, made of local soft stone and covered with paint.

able to represent it so. He was hampered by the usage of presenting figures in full face. Medusa must needs be so presented or she would not be horrible. But the attitude of Perseus sawing off her head and coolly looking to the front, gives grotesqueness to the scene. The sculptor is bound by tradition, which demanded that the head, the noble part of the person, should appear in a front view, while the feet and legs appear in profile, as was seen in the Nike of Delos; but he was daring in representing two successive events as going on at the same time. The horse, Pegasos, was always represented as springing from the blood of the slain Medusa, but here, even while Perseus is severing the head from the trunk, Pegasos is seen below held by the Gorgon but leaping away to the right. The forms of Medusa and Perseus, especially the thighs, are over massive. The whole right leg of Medusa is monstrous. As to expression, there is none, unless the effect produced by the ugly open mouth of Medusa with its protruding tongue and tusks may be called such. All the metopes of the series were certainly once much more impressive with their red, blue, and other paints. Athena's robe was doubtless brilliant. Perseus must have had a chiton and perhaps a helmet. The hair of all three figures received paint; so also the clothing. If the paint had been preserved, we should have known whether the coils on Perseus' calves were wings of sandals or simple leather boot-tops. Athena's eyes and eyebrows were black, Medusa's eyes red; the background was reddish-brown. Thus the figures stood out dark on a light background. The features of this metope are repeated in the one next to the right,¹ which represents Herakles striding to the right with two mischievous creatures, called Kerkopes, slung over his shoulders, probably on a pole represented in paint. The expressionless face in front view, the feet in profile, and the massive thighs of the Perseus metope all recur here.

The third metope,² placed toward the centre from the Perseus metope, was filled with a four-horse chariot coming out of the

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 286 *a*; Von Mach, 47 *b*.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 287 *a*; Von Mach, 48 *a*.

background. While the other two metopes were in such high relief that complete heads were protruding from the ground of the relief, here we have even the fore parts of horses standing out of the relief. In spite of the grotesqueness which pervades the human figures we must admire the boldness of the sculptor who



FIG. 24. — Europa on a Bull, from Selinus. (Palermo Museum.)

let his figures come out from the background so freely as to give a challenge to timid contemporaries and a promise of attainments still to be achieved. This is essentially sculpture in the round. The gift of expression, however, was denied the sculptor; and while attempting to depict a blood-curdling scene, he fell into the grotesque. The absolutely expressionless mouths contradict the attitudes of the figures.

Since Selinus was a Megarian colony, it may be proper to compare the massive forms of these metopes with those of the (probably contemporary) giant in the gable of the Megarian treasury at Olympia (p. 61). Nothing is more natural than that Megarian sculptors should have been chosen for such works. The colossal Apollo from Megara in the Athenian Museum is a proof of artistic activity in Megara at a still earlier date. It must, however, be conceded that these massive forms may be a general characteristic of archaic art. Witness the Herakles in the poros gables at Athens.

The next in age at Selinus are three metopes¹ found in 1892, which are of quite a different character. So different are they that some have thought them to be of Cretan origin, especially since one of them represents Europa riding on a bull (Fig. 24); another, in fragments, Herakles and the Cretan Bull; and a third, a Sphinx,² which gives an oriental colouring. The most important of these is Europa, riding on a bull, which she holds by the right horn with her left hand, and gliding over the sea, which is represented by two dolphins. The work is in some respects an advance on that of the previous group. The form of Europa is much more slender than any of the figures in the other metopes. Even the bull, with the exception of the head, is gracefully wrought. The slashing tail and the vigorous play of legs are especially noteworthy. The downward curve in the bull's back, more befitting a horse than a bull, is perhaps occasioned by the need of getting the head of Europa down into the field. One must take into account that the bull is really Zeus. Two other sets of metopes at Selinus belong to the next period.

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 288 b.

² *Ibid.*, No. 288 a.

"ETRUSCAN" CHARIOT AND TRIPODS¹

Etruria has become famous for treasures in archaic bronze, discovered in 1902 and later. One such treasure was long ago scattered among various museums, Munich having secured several fine pieces. The place where all these objects were found was probably in or near Perugia. Not many generations ago it was customary to classify nearly all objects of art found in Etruria as "Etruscan." To-day most persons have dropped that name, since it is well known that the splendid vases found in Etruscan tombs are of Greek workmanship. It is certain that we can call this art "Ionic."

The Metropolitan Museum in New York is in possession of the famous "biga," a two-horse chariot,² from Monteleone in Etruria. Though the woodwork has practically vanished, the fine bronze sheathing has been carefully pieced together and mounted on a new wooden frame, so that little is wanting. The rounded front,³ which is about twice as high as the sides, presents a man and a woman, each holding a side of a notched shield and an enormous visored helmet with a high crest supported by a ram's head. Both man and woman are exceedingly archaic, the man being shorn of his mustache in accordance with the custom of the sixth century B.C. The *horror vacui* is exhibited by inserting two large hawks flying vertically downward. The shield itself presents a Gorgon's head at the top, and something resembling a lion's head at the bottom. A deer turned upside down fills the space at the bottom. The woman's skirt shows elaborate ornamentation like that on the François vase. On one of the sides is presented a duel à l'outrance (Fig. 25). Two warriors armed from head to foot are fighting over a fallen man whose greaves

¹ Though the chariot may be fifty years older than the tripods we may group them together since they come from the same place, and show a kinship in art.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 586.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, Nos. 586, 587; *A. J. A.* 12 (1908), 313, Fig. 6.



FIG. 25.

Reliefs from the Monteleone Chariot. (New York, Metropolitan Museum.)

FIG. 26.

show that although without a helmet, he had been in the fight. It is clear that his eyelids are closed in death. The warrior on the right is probably marked as the victor. His shield is of very elaborate shape. On it we may note that the Gorgon's head is placed at the bottom instead of the top. On the front of the chariot the Gorgon's head was naturally placed high enough to inspire terror. The warrior at the left, bearing a round shield, is a doughty champion; but he is probably marked for death, if we may judge from the fact that his brilliantly decked antagonist seems driving his spear downward into his breast just inside the rim of his shield, while the plain hoplite's spear seems to have its point bent upwards by the impact upon the visor of his antagonist's helmet. The eagle also seems to threaten the warrior with the round shield.

On the other side-piece a warrior is represented in a chariot drawn by two winged steeds (Fig. 26). He has the same shaven mustache as the warrior on the front of the biga. Below the horses a female figure in a long robe, rather awkwardly crowded into the corner of the plaque, raises one hand as if to ward off the hoofs of the horses. The subject is, perhaps, the apotheosis of a warrior, the female figure representing Ge, Mother Earth.

Each side-piece has attached to it where it joins on to the front, a most archaic figure which, though diminutive, finds its counterpart in the "Apollo" of Tenea and its fellows. This is perhaps the surest point on which we can rest our conclusions as to date; and 600 B.C. can be regarded as a reasonable date. If we did not know that both side-pieces belong to the same chariot, we might regard the side-piece with the stiff figures and the schematic wings of Pegasus as older than the other. But these varieties of style must be accepted. The chariot reliefs, then, bring us over the waste void and set us on firm ground of Hellenic art in its earliest stages.

But just at this stage the claim has been made that the art of the biga is not Greek art at all but purely Etruscan.¹ We must,

¹ G. H. Chase, *Three Bronze Tripods in the Possession of James Loeb, Esq.*, *A.J.A.* 12 (1908), 287-323, Pl. 8-18.



FIG. 27.—Reliefs from an Archaic Bronze Tripod. (In the possession of James Loeb.)

however, declare that this is improbable. It was the *Greek* whose art was found in Etruria; budding, it is true, and with strange eccentricities. But from 600 B.C. to 550 B.C. that art blossomed and bloomed. Fifty years, or perhaps less, is sufficient for the transformation from the art of the biga to that of the tripods, part of one of which is represented in Fig. 27.

These magnificent bronze tripods which bore bronze bowls are now much mutilated, but enough is preserved to show what an art the wandering Greek developed wherever he went. In themselves they are a handbook of mythology. Heroes and heroines, "Gorgons and Hydras and Chimeras dire," "warriors that with deeds forlorn went down scornful before many spears," are portrayed in true heroic spirit. The delicate repoussé can never be surpassed, or even equalled. The figures stand out clear in contour and in strenuous action.

These stands with reliefs are of precious value; but the bowls which they bore are practically destroyed. The largest is 4 ft. 6½ in., another 4 ft. ½ in. The third is much smaller, — less than 3 ft. not reckoning the missing bowl.

There seems to be valid reason for allowing a generation or more to intervene between the chariot reliefs and the tripod reliefs. It is at least very doubtful whether we can class the chariot reliefs as Etruscan with any better right than that by which our forefathers classified the Greek vases found in Etruria as Etruscan. Besides this, Furtwängler refused to consider the art of the tripods and the art of the chariot reliefs in any other relationship than that of less and greater development. He has declared with the authority of a master that the chariot reliefs showed a well-meant honesty which in due time came to honour in the tripod reliefs.

It seems futile to regard either the art of the chariot or that of the tripods, which is surely akin to it, as of Etruscan origin. The reliefs on the chariot are doubtless much earlier. They show an art which has not "arrived," that has not yet felt the breath of life. But let half a century, or even less, pass and the dry bones have become quickened.

ARCHAIC PERIOD, SECTION B: 540-480 B.C.

Lycia.—The date assumed for the beginning of this section, 540 B.C., is not entirely arbitrary. In the east the philhellenic Croesus had fallen, and art was practically suppressed in its cradle by the Persians. A struggle for existence followed, and Ionia succumbed. Ionic influence in art, however, had extended itself to the neighbouring Lycia, where a remarkable tomb was discovered at Xanthos in 1838, and its decorations transferred in a few years to the British Museum. While some of these decorations are in the purest Ionic style, this need not be regarded as proving the Ionicizing of all Lycia. In fact it has been held that the tomb was that of some Persian satrap decorated by Ionian sculptors. This tomb, long called the Harpy monument, was formed of a huge monolith twenty feet high. Upon this was constructed a burial chamber formed of sculptured slabs. Over this was placed a broad coping.

On the west side to the left of the centre a rectangular opening was cut, not large enough for a person to enter except by crawling. This side seems to have been the principal façade. Every figure on it, with the possible exception of the cow and calf over the door, is intensely Greek, resembling the "Maidens" from Delos and the Akropolis at Athens (Fig. 28). Their dress is very rich, and is arranged to show the contour of the body. The two larger figures seated at the ends on elaborate chairs seem intended for divinities. Three mortal women appear to be bringing offerings of fruit and flowers to the divinity seated at the right, who is represented as already in possession of both. On the opposite (east) side,¹ more defaced, a gigantic seated male figure, probably the heroized dead, is receiving offerings and adoration from male worshippers. Directly before him is a diminutive boy offering him a cock.

On the north and south sides the centre of each field is filled by a seated hero, the one on the north side receiving a helmet, and the one on the south side offering a pomegranate, a pigeon, and some

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 146.

object not easily recognizable. At the ends of these sides appear strange creatures with heads, breasts, and arms of women like those on the west front, but with bodies ending in an egg-shaped protuberance and a bird's tail. They also bear a pair of wings and claws. With claws and arms they press tightly to their full breasts diminutive female figures, and fly outward through the air with them. The tomb was named after them "the Harpy Tomb"; but it is certain from the tender manner in which they handle their charges that they are benevolent beings. Beyond this we can



FIG. 28.—Harpy Monument, West Side. (British Museum.)

hardly hope to penetrate the symbolism which pervades the entire monument. The various animals — cow, dog, pig, and cock — may have a significance which we do not comprehend. There is something suggestively Asiatic in the prominence of the female element.

In the art there is a great contrast between the figures of the main front (west) and the other sides. The former has Ionic grace; in the latter appear heavy, clumsy forms, reminding us of those on the Spartan tombstone or on the Selinus metopes. It may be that some gifted Ionian carved the main façade and left the rest to Lycians, who followed him afar off.

Thasos. — A relief found on the island of Thasos in 1864, now in the Louvre, represents, on one long slab and two shorter

ones,¹ to the left of a door sculptured in relief, Apollo with a lyre, leading a band of Nymphs, and to the right, Hermes in the midst of four similar figures usually interpreted as Graces.² In fact inscriptions on the lintel of the door and on one of the shorter slabs indicate that both Nymphs and Graces were here worshipped. We have here a treasure of well-developed and graceful Ionic art; for Thasos was Ionic. Rich robes half conceal and half reveal the full female forms. Hermes alone, marked by his wand and petasos, is both scantily draped and spare. Ionic art has here travelled far onward from the stage of the Samothrake relief. These Nymphs and Graces, as well as the figures on the façade of the Harpy Tomb, are twin sisters to the "Maidens" of Delos and of the Athenian Akropolis. Here they are in full bloom on Ionic shores and where Ionic influence reached. Scattered remnants of the band are found in museums with no record of their provenience; such are the figures on the Villa Albani relief.³ Then we have the stele from Pharsalos,⁴ now in the Louvre, on which appear two women belonging to the most graceful figures created by Greek sculptors. Except for the eye seen in full while the face is in profile, one might think that we were here beyond the archaic period.⁵

Somewhat less archaic is the tombstone of Philis⁶ found at Thasos. We see a rich lady in splendid attire, showing a full form, taking some adornment from her jewel-box. She has the eye in archaic fashion in contrast to Hegeso (Fig. 95) in the Dipylon cemetery, who shows the eye in profile.

Ionic sculpture has now become predominant, not only on islands

¹ There is some doubt as to the arrangement of the slabs. It was proposed by Michaelis (*A.J.A.* 1889, 1st Series, 5. 417) to assume two more short slabs and arrange them all in the form of a court open to the front.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 61; Von Mach, 54.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 228; Von Mach, 367 *b*.

⁴ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 58; Von Mach, 358.

⁵ Brunn maintained the existence of a North Grecian school, to which this and many other works were to be ascribed; but now they are more commonly ascribed to Ionic influence.

⁶ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 232 *a*; Von Mach, 355.

and shores where Ionians dwelt, but shaping artistic life from Lycia to Thessaly. Ionia, weak in politics and war, is now about to assert a predominance in art over Athens, to envelope it.

Athens. — We have seen that Athens had an art sufficiently robust, which after long practice in poros stone made essays in marble. One would hardly have expected an advent of Attic grace from these beginnings. We shall never know what might have been the result if Athens had taken its own way of development for another half century. The fall of Croesus, however, and the ruin of Ionia set free and sent over to the Greek mainland a host of Ionic artists. Some of their names we know from inscriptions. Attic art was submerged as thoroughly as the Roman state was submerged when "the Orontes flowed into the Tiber"; but it reappeared, and, endued with native strength and acquired sweetness, ran its course before an admiring world.

The excavations on the Akropolis, 1886–1889, revealed the submergence and the emergence. On a single day in February, 1886, fourteen marble statues, most of them with heads, were taken out of the ground with pomp and ceremony in the presence of the king of Greece. Their battered condition showed clearly that Persians had wreaked their vengeance on them. But even in this condition they and many similar figures, found before and after, afford an adequate picture of the art of Athens during the whole period under consideration.¹ While we have not all the statues that once decked the temple precinct of Athena, we have so much that we would willingly exchange some of it for material to fill other great gaps in the history of art. But it is an immense advantage that, making all due allowance for peculiarities of individual sculptors, we can trace approximately the course of the development of sculpture in Athens from 540 to 480 B.C. And now Athens becomes by far the most important field in the study of the period. In the old centres of productivity like Samos and Miletos nothing was produced, or if anything was produced, it was

¹ See Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes*; Schrader, *Die archaische Marmor-Skulpturen im Akropolis-Museum zu Athen*, 1909.

probably destroyed almost as soon as made. Athens, on the contrary, enjoyed during the greater part of this period, the stable,



FIG. 29. — Archaic Figure.
(Athens, Akropolis Museum.)



FIG. 30. — Most Elaborate Archaic Figure.
(Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

if not always agreeable, government of the enlightened, art-loving tyrant, Peisistratos, and that of his sons.

It has been surmised that some of the statues of the Akropolis were made by Ionic artists who are known to fame. Several winged Nikes, similar to the one found in Delos, only

much more developed, were found on the Akropolis; and an inscription on the shaft of a column which may well have supported one of them contains the



FIG. 31. — Pathetic Archaic Figure.
(Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

name Archermos. This suggests linking the famous Chian sculptor with the art of Athens. Nothing could be more natural. Moreover, near the Heraion in Samos was found a peculiar archaic statue¹ dedicated to Hera by one Cheramyas. The style of the statue is exceedingly primitive. The part below the waist resembles a cylinder; and the presence of a garment or garments upon it is indicated by long, fine, perpendicular lines. The himation, if we may so call it, falls only on the right side down below the hips. Some have seen in this style an imitation of metal work, the surface of which might well have been made by tracing long lines upon it with a burin. One of the Akropolis figures, of which only the upper half is preserved, shows exactly the same technique.² A third similar figure, also found on the Akropolis, supplements the others in some details.³

They form a unique group, appearing, except for variation in size, to be replicas of one and the same statue. The second

¹ Fig. 17 (p. 54).

² Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes*, 395, Fig. 44.

³ Lechat, *ibid.*, 399, Fig. 45.

figure alone has a head ; and this is so rude and expressionless, with a nose like a half pyramid, a mouth composed of a simple slit, and eyes merely marked out on the surface, that it conveys an idea of greater antiquity than the smiling sisters by which it is surrounded in the Akropolis Museum. Since one of the figures was found in Samos, it was thought reasonable to regard them all as examples of Samian art. When an inscription was found on the Akropolis, giving the name Theodoros in Ionic letters, the case of Samian influence in Athens seemed proved. It was a great gain to have established a probable connection between some of the Akropolis figures and the two schools of Samos and Chios.¹

There is such a variety in the twenty or thirty female statues from the Akropolis, that the classification of them according to



FIG. 32.—Finest Type of Archaic Figure.
(Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

time has been found difficult. Figure 29, for instance, has in the form of the body a strong resemblance to the statue dedicated by Nikandre, but the face has lively expression. Typical of the greatest degree of elaboration is Fig. 30, on which the hair, both the

¹ B. Sauer, *Ath. Mitt.* 17 (1892), 37, has by a careful study of marbles shown that the statues above mentioned are, with many others, of Naxian marble. He brings into prominence a Naxian school, showing activity in regions as far from Naxos as Boeotia and the western shores of Akarnania.

locks on the forehead and the ringlets falling over the breast, and the garments, both chiton and himation, surpass all the others in elegance of detail. It seems to represent the flood tide of Ionic influence. Another figure (Fig. 31) has the hair undercut in such a way as to shade the face and give her a pensive and almost pathetic look, which was perhaps not intended. Perhaps the most typical and satisfactory representative of the whole group is one of which the head only is preserved (Fig. 32). The face shows the full forms of a matron rather than those of a maiden. The archaic



FIG. 33.—A Revolt toward Simplicity.
(Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

smile is toned down; the hair, while very elaborate, has not the excessive elaboration of Fig. 30. While in none of the series is there any proper eye socket, in this figure the eyeballs even protrude in a marked manner.

At some time shortly before 480 B.C. a revolt against Ionism took place. Whether it was a revolt of the native Athenian strength or an influx of sober Dorian influence is not certain. But the woman pictured in Fig. 33 is in some important points diametrically opposed to her sisters, and notably to the one just mentioned as typical of the group. The eyes are not yet, it is true,

set back into the skull as nature demands, but the thick eyelids afford a deep setting, contrasted with the protruding eyeballs hardly held in by the thin eyelids of the typical representative. The corners of the mouth not only do not turn up, but they positively turn down, with a pouting expression, which has given her the popular name of *la petite boudeuse*. Moreover, we see here for the first time the nose continuing downward the line of the fore-

head, giving the so-called "Greek profile." The line of the mouth is a cupid's bow. On the whole, the result is an aristocratic, disdainful, but not unpleasing face.

To be grouped with her is a head of a boy of the same age (Fig. 34), say sixteen years old, who has the same eyes, nose, and mouth, so that his popular name is *le frère de la petite boudeuse*. These figures certainly mark a reaction against the perpetual smile, that mark of archaic Greek, or more especially Ionic, sculpture.

We know that the reaction came shortly before the Persian War. The two figures could not have been long exposed when the change came. The yellow hair of the boy seemed almost freshly painted when it was taken out of the ground, and yellow is a color that would soon fade when ex-



FIG. 34.— Archaic Youth with Yellow Hair. (Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

posed to continuous moisture. The pupils and red lips of the maiden bear their paint well preserved.

Somewhere, probably at about the middle of the series, belongs one of the largest of the "Maidens" (Fig. 35), which, after considerable objection, was probably correctly placed upon a high pedestal bearing the name of an Athenian sculptor, Antenor, who also made the group of the Tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, at about 510 B.C.

To describe and discuss every member of this large group, interesting as it would be, is aside from the purpose of a manual; neither can we here go into the details of dress, coiffure, etc.¹

Summarily it may be stated that practically all are of Parian marble, imported in cubical blocks of about the size of the body, which

¹ For fullest details, see Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes*.

received their shape in Athens. The projecting forearm, usually the right, was made of a separate piece, inserted in a socket and held by a marble peg smeared with fine lime. Heads were often added in the same way. By these means the difficulty and expense involved in hewing the statue—arms, head, and all—out of a single large block was avoided. The similar "Maidens" in Delos, the nearest kin to the Akropolis figures, do not show such piecing. Parian marble was more valuable in Athens than it was in Delos near the quarries.



FIG. 35.—Figure sculptured by Antenor. (Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

The statues were painted, but not *covered* with paint, as was the case with the poros sculptures. Regard was shown to the value and beauty of Parian marble. Only the borders of garments, shoes, diadems, earrings, eyes, and mouth, received paint, which was not intended to cover, but to adorn.

The dress of these figures has evoked voluminous discussion. Much of this is superfluous because it starts with the assumption that all the garments may be thoroughly explained and reduced to a single norm, whereas in fact there is endless variety. Sometimes we have only a single garment, sometimes two, sometimes three. It is at least probable that one stunted figure has but one garment, a sleeved chiton, but the upper part is made to appear crimped, while the lower part is smooth, except as it is wrinkled by being drawn up in the left hand. In the other figures not only does the upper part of the chiton, which is smooth below, show on the left breast and shoulder this crimped

appearance, but the peplos also, all over the right shoulder, shows a similar surface. These figures, which on first sight seem so much alike that they were dubbed in the lump as *Tanten* by German archaeologists, are seen on closer view to show endless variety in dress and coiffure.

They were usually raised five or six feet above the rock of the Akropolis by a marble shaft with a base and capital. The heads of many, if not all, were protected by a wooden disk, probably gilded, and certainly lifted a little above the head by bronze rods, several of which remain inserted in the cranium. This protection was necessary against the birds,¹ which were attracted by the sacrifices at the great altar of Athena. The delicately painted figures must not be defiled.

The Akropolis in the time of Peisistratos must have presented a brilliant spectacle. Around the temple of Athena, itself resplendent with brilliant paint, stood these figures along the slopes and on the ridge of the Akropolis rock.

The question used to be much debated whom these figures represented. They were long stoutly claimed to be images of the goddess herself. But it is beyond question that not one of them bears any mark of divinity. A claim was made that they were priestesses of Athena.² But on that supposition there must have been terrible mortality among these priestesses, because there was only one priestess at a time, and she held office for life; so that the whole period of sixty years would not call for more than a tenth part of the figures that we have; and it is by no means probable that we have them all. An inscription found on the Akropolis, which speaks of a fisherman dedicating a maiden to Poseidon, leads us to believe that most, if not all, of the statues under consideration are of mortal maids and matrons, dedicated to Athena, and not images of the goddess herself. It is perhaps a special case that Poseidon should receive a maiden as

¹ Aristoph., *Birds*, 1114 ff.; Eurip., *Ion*, 157 ff.

² One figure seems to be a priestess, inasmuch as she bears in one hand a wreath and in the other a vase of ointment.

an offering to *him* on the Akropolis ; but that the maiden goddess herself should receive such offerings was most natural.

Besides the female statues there were a few males, mostly youths (*epheboi*). The youth with the yellow hair was probably not surrounded by so many companions as was his twin sister, above referred to. But the male line was fairly represented. Besides the yellow-



FIG. 36. — A Youth on the Athenian Akropolis.

haired Ephebos one such representative (Fig. 36) came to his rights in securing his proper head, by the consent of a council of famous archaeologists, after carrying a wrong one for eight years. A second has been given a head which had for some time been lying about the Akropolis Museum. The effect in the latter case is not so satisfactory as in the former, in which we seem to see a striking resemblance to Harmodios (p. 119), so far as a youth of sixteen might resemble a man of twenty. The heavy chin of Harmodios is reproduced in due proportions. The head of an athlete in Copenhagen¹ belonging to this period, doubtless came from Athens, as well as the notable head from the Rampin collection now in the Louvre (Fig. 37), which deserves more than a passing mention. In contrast to the athlete, who as a

youth is without a beard and has short hair, the Rampin head has a frisure unsurpassed in elaboration by that of any of the female figures, and rivalled only by that of Fig. 30. The long, old-fashioned tresses falling down back of the ears are showy enough ; but the hair of the crown and forehead seem to shame manhood. The locks falling over the forehead are woven of several strands and terminate in rosettes. The mustache is shaven in the sixth-

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 116.

century style, but the beard is most carefully plaited, and indeed looks like a false beard. The garland of oak leaves over his forehead suggests that he is decked out for a victory in an athletic contest. The smiling mouth, almond eyes, and very highly set ears mark the head as very archaic. Perhaps somewhat so looked the youthful Theseus when he was twitted by some peasants for looking like a girl. Comparing this head with Fig. 30, we see how they represent the highest pitch of elaboration, occurring probably about midway between the Calf-bearer and the yellow-haired Ephebos. It is probable that this coiffure was an inheritance from Ionia, and that the simple Athenians of the time of the Calf-bearer had been transformed by Ionian elegance to this degree. We may take, then, these examples, both the male and the female, as representing the flood tide of Ionic influence at Athens.



FIG. 37. — The Rampin Head at Paris.

A remarkable series of horses and riders, probably votive offerings, extending over a period of a century, shows a gradual development in style parallel to that which connects the Calf-bearer with the Ephebos of the yellow hair.¹ One horse, at about the middle of the series, bears a rider with jacket and trousers most fantastically painted, apparently representing some barbarian, perhaps a Persian. At the end of the series we have two ex-

¹ Studniczka, *Jahrbuch*, 6 (1891), 239. Winter, *Jahrbuch*, 8 (1893), 135.

amples, of which one presents to us an almost complete horse and one leg of a rider; the other presents a really spirited horse with mane finely cropped (Fig. 38). There are holes showing the places for the bridles.



FIG. 38.—Archaic Horse. (Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

Besides the figures of maidens and youths, Athens affords a seated figure of the goddess Athena (Fig. 39), marked as such by the aegis with the gorgon's head on her breast. It is reported that Endoios, who was probably an Ionian sculptor, although sometimes set down as an Athenian, made a seated Athena at the order of the rich Kallias. On the strength of this report, and because of the place where it was found, this Athena has with some reason been ascribed to Endoios.¹

Both arms are detached

from the body. By throwing back the right foot the sculptor has given the intimation that she may rise from her seat and act. She is, however, linked with the "Maidens" by the long locks falling over the breast and by the crimped garment below the aegis. A curious fold of drapery falls between the legs. It appears to fall from the seat and not from the body.

¹ Paus. i. 26. 4.

A standing Athena Promachos (Fig. 40) is represented in several small bronze figures, also from the Akropolis, bearing helmet, shield, and spear, and rushing to the combat; but below the breast she is identical with the "Maidens." The sculptors of the time knew well how to make an Athena different from the "Maidens." Another small bronze,¹ made of two flat plates joined together at the edges, shows Athena with her aegis, but without other war-like attributes. She presents a perfect profile from either side. The face of the goddess and the scales of the aegis are gilded. Her hair and dress are like those of the "Maidens." But her form is much fuller. The face is cold and pitiless, with no look of sympathy with human infirmities. But small as is the figure, it is one of the finest examples of the art of the time.

Several reliefs in marble, two of which appear to belong to a single composition, adorned the Akropolis. The most striking of these is a person mounting a chariot and leaning forward in the race. A small piece of an adjacent slab on the right, fitting exactly to the main piece, shows two horses' tails and one hind leg, all of which seem to point to a chariot at rest. This figure has long been known and admired



FIG. 39.—Seated Athena. (Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 81 a; Von Mach, 34 a.

for its combination of grace and vigour.¹ Several questions concerning it are, however, still in debate. Is it male or female, and is it divine or human? Both these questions might be answered definitely if the head were not so badly worn away.



FIG. 40.—Warrior Athena.
(Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

The second slab,² broken off below and containing only the upper half of a figure that is clearly male, instead of settling the case has served to complicate it. The petasos worn by this figure has led to its being called Hermes, and the natural interpretation of the other figure made it also some divinity.

The hair of the so-called Hermes is done up in the old Attic krobylos fashion; and since the other figure had the same coiffure, it was natural to interpret it also as male in spite of its slender arms. The body of the supposed Hermes is equally slender. Effeminate male figures are not unparalleled in Attic art. There is a notable case of a headless draped male³ on the Akropolis that looks in almost every respect like one of the "Maidens." It must be conceded

that the dress of the charioteer does look feminine. A long robe was the usual dress of charioteers.

It was long ago seen that the pieces belonged to a single series. It was reserved for Schrader⁴ to set up the hypothesis that they

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 21; Von Mach, 56.

² *Memorie dell' Istituto*, ii. Pl. 13.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 551.

⁴ Der Cellafries des alten Athenatempels, *Ath. Mitt.* 30 (1905), 305-322. Furtwängler, *Sitz.-ber. der Münchener Akad.* 1905, iii. 433 ff., suggested that the series adorned the altar of Athena.

were all parts of a frieze of the "Oldest Temple," which bore the Typhon gable. When Peisistratos had enlarged this temple by adding a colonnade and putting a larger roof over the whole, Schrader supposes that the oldest temple, which still continued to form the cella of the enlarged one, was converted into the Ionic order, with two Ionic columns between two antae at each end, and that at the same time an Ionic frieze was added at the top of the old cella wall.

It is interesting to note that we have, then, part of a chariot-race frieze antedating similar chariot-races on the Parthenon frieze by a century. Perhaps the earlier frieze, like the later, had mortal charioteers. And it is not unlikely, if they were mortals, that they were males. The figure with a petasos has very slender claim to divinity. If we discard the notion that he is Hermes, there is no great reason to regard the other figure as a divinity. The coiffure, being that which is more properly male, as seen on "Her-



FIG. 41.—Athena accepting Offerings. (Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

mes," befits a youthful male charioteer. The neck also is stout enough to belong to a male. The drapery of the figure is very schematic, the kind that archaistic sculptors loved to reproduce.

One votive relief may be here noticed, on which Athena, a slim figure holding her chiton very high, appears among her worshippers in a peaceful attitude, without the aegis (Fig. 41). The worshippers are of two sizes and of both sexes. A pair, probably man and

wife, of which only the lower parts are preserved, approach with offerings. They are about two thirds as large as the goddess. With them are three diminutive figures, two males and one female, the former bringing offerings, the latter looking like an infinitesimal "Maiden." Along with them walks, perhaps as an offering, an enormous sow. A greater contrast could hardly be found than that between the smiling Athena in the circle of her devout worshippers and the stern, terrible goddess formed by the two plates of gilded bronze.

One of the greatest triumphs in art studies of the present generation has been the reconstruction in part of the main gable of the Athena temple made by Peisistratos. In 1863 a female head of Parian marble and about life-size was found on the Akropolis. It was early recognized as belonging in the circle of the "Maidens," but raised above them by an august dignity and vigour which was entirely foreign to them. It passed, it is true, for an example of Attic grace; but it was much more than that. Its significance was gradually revealed. Up to about 1891 it remained set up on a bracket, although in 1886 Studniczka¹ had shown that several large pieces of a draped body fitted to the head. In 1896, after a long study of all the marble fragments on the Akropolis which had dark veins similar to those in the fragments already identified, Hans Schrader² was able not only to set up in a hall of the Akropolis Museum the glorious figure of the goddess delighting in battle, but to put at her feet a falling youthful giant whom she was piercing with her spear as she strode onward to the right scattering death (Fig. 42). Two other and much larger giants, almost wholly restored, were shown by their sloping position to be adapting themselves to the ascending cornice of a gable, and to belong in the two corners. Four other figures have entirely disappeared with the exception of insignificant fragments. Between the central group of Athena with the young giant and the two outstretched giants, filling the corners, there was room on each side for another giant bending forward for the fray and confronted by

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* 11 (1886), 185 ff.

² *Ath. Mitt.* 22 (1897), 59 ff.

an erect divine antagonist. The giants in the corners are *ready* to take part; but the real combat is shared only by three gods and three giants, and is resolved into three duels. The divine antagonists helping Athena were probably Zeus and Herakles, who fought with their backs turned to the central group.



FIG. 42.— Athena striking down a Youthful Giant. (Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

All three of the giants are nude. Of the two in the corners one has a head in a separate piece cleverly adjusted to the body; the other once had a head of the same piece as the body, but it is now mostly broken away. The youthful giant in the centre lacks a head. But although nude, like the other giants, he wore a helmet. On the upper side of the left hand of Athena a trans-

verse cut shows traces of bronze on the thumb and forefinger, which proves that she was grasping the socket of the fallen giant's helmet plume with her left hand, while with her right she drove the spear clear through him. She needed no shield. At her touch he must sink to the ground. So is it in the like scene on the Pergamon frieze. Her onward rush is death to her enemy.

The date of the gable is usually fixed at shortly after 540 B.C. Peisistratos was then in possession of the sovereign power to hold it during his life. Since he came to his victory through the help of Athena, his protector, he would not be slow to show his gratitude by some conspicuous memorial. Her enemies were his. They were both champions of law and order. Such may be the sense of this gable group.

The giants taken singly are not very admirable. The anatomy is bad. The contorted antagonist of Athena has no proper mediation between his breast and the lower part of the body. The drawn-up leg, however, is admirable. In general, it is flesh rather than muscle that makes an impression. All is calculated for a view from below. The Aeginetan gable figures, on the contrary, are wrought out as if all the anatomical details were to be inspected at close range. In the grouping there is also a contrast to the Aegina gables with their studied symmetry of many figures. The Athens group was composed of only eight figures, which were, of course, much larger than the twelve or perhaps fourteen figures on the west gable of Aegina. But when we consider that the gable was far larger than the Aeginetan, it must be conceded that there were more empty spaces in the Athenian gable.

The greatest contrast between the two gables is this: the Aeginetan figures, with all their careful anatomical details, are lacking in the appearance of life. They are as if spellbound, without the power to awake and act, while the Athenian figures make the rush and struggle apparent.

It is only in the dress that Athena is like the "Maidens." She is unlike them in what is essential. One sees in her face pitiless wrath flashing forth as she strikes down her foe. She moves in

glory across the scene. What a contrast to the Aeginetan Athenas, who occupied in solemn, death-like gravity a similar place in their gables !

Paint was judiciously applied. The garments of Athena were painted much as were those of the "Maidens." But she wore a helmet painted blue, with gilt rosettes along its lower border. Her hair was red. The aegis had red, blue, and green scales and a border of snakes whose heads protruded here and there from its edge.

Most of the sculptures of this period in Attika outside of the Akropolis are funereal monuments, generally in relief. It is worthy of note that nearly all of them, as well as some reliefs on the Akropolis, are of Pentelic marble.

The stele of Aristion (Fig. 43), found in 1838 at Velanideza, near the eastern shore of Attika, about ten miles south of Marathon, close to a great burial mound, is practically intact. Although now deprived of its isolation by subsequent discoveries, it is still the most important monument of its class and one of the chief treasures of the National Museum at Athens. On the stele, which tapers slightly towards the top, we have in very low relief an Attic hoplite of about 525 B.C., in what we may call a dress-parade attitude. The dead warrior is seen here as he lived, at his best, ready for battle, with all his armour on. It is, however, the traces of paint which give the stele its chief importance. The background was painted red, the figure in various colours. The helmet was dark blue, the hair reddish brown, the cuirass probably dark brown,



FIG. 43. — Aristion's Stele.
(Athens, National Museum.)

in imitation of leather. This shows three horizontal bands of meanders and zigzags in blue. On the right shoulder piece, representing, perhaps, metal, are a star and a lion's head. The double flaps of the cuirass, the fine folds of the linen garment coming out from under them, and the metallic greaves through which appear the form of the knees and calves, the hair carefully arranged in curls, the fine lines of the beard given in detail, all show the scrupulous care bestowed on this relief. With the top part, now broken off, went the warrior's plume, which once came down over his shoulder, as is shown by the dowel-hole just above it. Had Athens left no other work of the sixth century, we should still have a vivid picture of the citizen soldier of that time, whose character inspires respect.

There are faults in the drawing. The right hand recalls those of the old Apollos in the position of the thumb; the right leg and buttock are exaggerated; the whole figure is crowded against the rear border of the stele; although the figure is in profile, the eye is in archaic fashion, as if seen from in front.

Half a century ago, when this figure was practically the sole representative of archaic Attic art, Brunn used it as an example of what Attic art was in contrast to Aeginetan, declaring that the former was characterized by dignity and grace of the whole effect, the latter by the finer study of nature in details. Although this generalization was made on insufficient material, it stands to-day abundantly corroborated.

Although the stele has lost some of its unique importance by the discovery of a duplicate stele at Ikaria,¹ it is still the most perfect of all the old Attic grave reliefs. A good many other Attic reliefs more or less resembling it have come to light.²

Shortly after its discovery, when the history of sculpture lacked perspective, it was customary to call this figure the "Soldier of Marathon." But when the history of Greek sculpture got its proper perspective, the warrior resumed the name that was given him on his monument. On the band below his feet the name of

¹ *A.J.A.* 5 (1889), 9.

² Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, early numbers.

the sculptor, Aristokles, is cut. The slab ended in a sort of stump which fitted into a base on which the name of the dead was inscribed. His real name is Aristion. He might have been a grandfather to one of the "men of Marathon."¹

A stele² found a year later at the same place as the Aristion stele, when cleared from incrustation about forty years later, showed the noble figure of a man of the same age as Aristion officiating as a priest. In this case, as in several others, the figure was in paint only, upon smooth marble. The figure was painted, as in the case of the Aristion stele, of lighter colours; while the background on which it was projected was dark red. The colours early disappeared and left the surface exposed to corrosion; but the strong colour protected the marble longer. Accordingly, the figure is now dark, while the background is light.

The top part of a stele containing a head, found in 1873 in an old wall near the Dipylon gate, is too important to be passed over (Fig. 44).



FIG. 44.—Archaic Discus-thrower. (Athens, National Museum.)

Here a youthful athlete holds a discus in his left hand, so poised that his head is projected upon it in relief as on a nimbus. The top of the head is broken away; but we have all the very archaic features, the almond-shaped eye in full, the prominent nose with great knobs, the thick lips making an archaic smile. The chin and neck, however, are both strong and graceful. The thumb outlined against the discus is slender. The lobe of the ear is monstrous. The tightly twisted braid of the hair, truly athletic,

¹ The lack of the deme-name which was usually appended to names after Kleisthenes (510 B.C.) is enough to show that Aristion is of earlier date.

² Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, Pl. 1.

conceals the transition from the head to the discus, which is poised in the attitude of "parade rest."

Since the stele is seen to broaden considerably downward, the breadth of about a foot and two inches at the top would be increased at the bottom to about two feet and a half. This suggests that the figure was represented with feet apart, as if in the act of hurling the discus.

Philios has recognized in a relief found at Eleusis¹ a hoplite who is a *real* Marathonomachos; and there is much that speaks in his favour. The hoplite is nude, but carries his shield and spear, and wears an enormous helmet. He is full of strenuous action. In fact, he might be supposed to be the fabled runner who spent his last breath in bringing the news of victory from Marathon, and sank in death as he breathed out the glorious cry, "Νικῶμεν." The attitude of an absolutely spent runner is marked by the manner in which he clutches at his breast for breath. The style, too, accords better with that of 490 B.C. than with that of Aristion, which is a quarter of a century earlier.

It was perfectly natural that figures like the Akropolis "Maidens" should be found at Eleusis, since Eleusis in the sixth century was a part of Athens, and Peisistratos extended his activities thither. He built an enlarged hall for the mysteries. We have, by good fortune, one of the architectural adornments, a splendid ram's head,² perhaps the finest example of animal sculpture preserved from the archaic period.

Boeotia. — Other influences were operative where there was apparently never a local school. The stele of Orchomenos (Fig. 45), now in the National Museum, was made by a Naxian sculptor, who was so proud of his work that he inscribed on its lower border, "Alxenor of Naxos made me, just look at me." A man perhaps somewhat older than Aristion is before us, admirably adjusted to the field of the relief. His head is bent forward; his left hand is slipped down his long staff, which forces itself up into the folds of his long cloak. He looks kindly down upon a dog of the grey-

¹ *Ephem. Arch.* 1903, 43-56.

² *A. J. A.* 2 (1898), Pl. 8.

hound type, with a long, sharp nose, and holds out to him a locust. What a difference between him and Aristion! There we had the stiffness of dress parade, here is the bent head and the hand supported by a staff that seems to be driven into his cloak. The feet partake so much of the *négligé* attitude that one can hardly tell which is the right and which the left. In fact this seemingly easy position is absolutely impossible. The dog, too, in his efforts to reach the locust is contorted out of nature, his head being turned as on a swivel, outdoing the contortions of the Nike of Delos. He also rests his forepaws on the raised border of the relief. But it is the breath of life that interests us; and here is real life, though awkwardly expressed. We have a Boeotian landowner walking over his fields with his faithful dog.—We miss the paint which doubtless once existed. The head probably once had hair above the fillet, painted. Less likely is a metallic cap, which has been suggested. A relief¹ in the Naples Museum has the same subject with variations. The dog, of the same type, has his hind feet planted on the ground; but his head is turned around and upward, as on the Orchomenos stele. The locust, however, which gave the reason for the contorted position, is lacking. The form of the right hand demands the locust or some similar object.

In most respects the Naples relief is quite superior to the others. There is less drapery and more anatomy. The legs, shown almost entire, are better both in form and in placing.

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 416; Von Mach, 349*a*.



FIG. 45.—A Boeotian playing with his Dog. (Athens, National Museum.)

The same is true of the arms and breast. As for the head, it seems a generation later than the Orchomenos head, and might even make the Naples stele fall out of the period under discussion.

By good fortune there has been discovered at Apollonia on the west shore of the Black Sea, and brought to the Bulgarian Museum at Sophia, another replica of the same scene, with this variation, that the man holds out to the dog a large bone. This copy, though more battered than the others, is in point of art greatly superior to them.¹ It may be that it was the prototype, which the Naples example certainly cannot be. The wide distribution of the three examples makes the place of the origin of the type doubtful. The Naples copy is thought to be from one of the Aegean islands; and thus the Ionic origin can hardly be doubted. Neither can it be doubted that the prototype enjoyed great celebrity.

Thessaly.—In this period Thessaly enjoyed the presence of such poets as Anakreon and Simonides. Of its artists we know little, but the relief² found at Pharsalos half a century ago, and long called "the elevation of the flower," is probably a grave monument, and is one of the most charming relics of archaic art. Beauty and solemnity pervade the scene. Two women are holding up to each other fruit and flowers, the latter looking like toadstools. One is reminded of similar scenes on the Harpy Monument; but here is great advance. Head, body, arms, and hands show beautiful forms. The elaborate head-dress marks the women as high-bred. That the relief is earlier than 500 B.C. is rendered probable by the severity of expression, especially in the eyes, which are shown in full, the stiff attitudes, and the schematic folds of the garments.

Delphi.—That both Olympia and Delphi were important centres of artistic activity from 540 to 480 B.C. is undoubted. Olympia, however, had little to show, while Delphi had much. Besides maidens of the Akropolis type, there were male figures of the

¹ *Jahrbuch (Anzeiger)* 1896, 137.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 58; Von Mach, 358.

Apollo type which may represent Kleobis and Biton of Argos.¹ There are also metopes of an elongated shape from the Treasury of the Sikyonians. One² of these represents Europa on a bull, in which she shows much more activity than in the Selinus metope, where, in order to get her into the field, the sculptor bent the



FIG. 46.—Archaic Relief of Warriors from the Treasury of the Sikyonians at Delphi.

bull's back down into an unnatural curve. The bull is a splendid animal compared with that of the Selinus metope. The drapery of Europa is also superior.

The second metope shows three heroes returning from a cattle-lifting expedition (Fig. 46). These heroes, whose heads are

¹ Hdt. i. 31; Homolle, *B.C.H.* 24 (1900), 450.

² *Fouilles de Delphes* iv. Pl. 3.



FIG. 47. — Quadriga from the Treasury of the Knidians at Delphi.



FIG. 48. — Battle-Scene from the Treasury of the Knidians at Delphi.

badly battered, carry two spears each. Their long braids of hair falling over their shoulders look so archaic as to make it proper to place them into the first archaic period. The heads of the nigh oxen, below the other heads in profile, appear in front view between the human bodies in an extremely stiff and almost comical manner; while the attempt to show the full number of legs of the cattle results in a multiplicity of parallel lines.

The metopes of the Sikyonian Treasury properly belong to the first archaic period; but for the sake of comparison with the Knidian frieze we may treat them together. This magnificent frieze probably falls in the period between 500 and 485 B.C. Two "Maidens" serve as supports for its porch. The frieze is practically intact, and its figures form the most impressive series of archaic art. Here come into play both action and grace. Fine carving and judicious application of polychromy are wedded. For the convenience of beholders the names of the chief actors are inscribed on the borders below. We have a battle between Homeric warriors, with seated divinities watching the fray; a battle of the gods and giants; the carrying off of the daughters of Leukippos; and a fourth subject which cannot be surely identified. Figure 47 represents the horses of a quadriga and two horses with riders, rivalling the similar scenes on the Parthenon frieze. Figure 48 reproduces a part of the battle between the gods and the giants. Everywhere the details, such as the garments and hair of the figures and the manes and tails of the horses, show the most exquisite archaic art. These figures show that the Parthenon frieze was not without its forerunners. Undoubtedly this frieze, and perhaps many more like it, were familiar to Attic artists of the time of Pheidias.

Selinus. — We turn again to the extreme west, where we find that, since the grotesque metopes of temple *C* were made, art had progressed in Selinus. The city having spread until it filled its akropolis, a temple designated as temple *F*, to be flanked later by temples *E* and *G*, was built upon a plateau about a mile to the

east of the city. It had ten metopes on its eastern front. Of only two of these are there fragments worth mentioning; these are two lower halves. Each contains a god or goddess overthrowing a giant. In one case¹ the giant is halting upon his right knee, the other being bent as he is pressed violently downward by a divine antagonist, who is possibly male, and wears a garment reaching only to the knee. The second fragment² is still more impressive. Here a goddess, probably Athena, has completely overthrown her antagonist, and is planting her foot remorselessly upon his thigh as she transfixes him with a spear, probably represented in paint. Somewhat so appeared Athena in the Akropolis gable. The drapery, as far as we have it, is not unlike hers. The giant is still struggling with his left hand to keep his head from the ground. But it is falling backward over his left shoulder, while his mouth, with both rows of teeth displayed, is emitting his death rattle; meanwhile his beard remains carefully arranged in three parallel bands on cheek and chin.

In general there is little profit in discussing sculptors who have left no works by which we may judge them. There are, however, two schools of sculpture that were active in the period under consideration, to which we can assign extant works only by conjecture, but which on account of their historical importance cannot be passed over without discussion. One of these is the Argive school, which was devoted mainly to sculpture of athletes. Working as it did in bronze, it has left hardly any examples by which it may be judged. Had we ten out of the thousands of bronze statues which filled Olympia and Delphi, to say nothing of Argos itself, we should know something of Argive art; whereas we now guess and grope almost blindly.

Old Argive School. — One great name confronts us at the outset, Hagelaidas, whom tradition made to be the teacher of Myron, Polykleitos, and Pheidias. We have no trace of the works which he is said to have made, but the single bronze statuette from Ligourio,³

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 289 b.

² *Ibid.*, No. 289 a.

³ Furtwängler, *Gotas Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm* (1890), 125-153, Pl. I.

near Epidauros, without doubt an Argive work, has generally been taken to represent his style. The figure is very stocky; the head has heavy jaws and chin, a straight mouth, and strongly worked eyelids; in fact just what we should expect from a forerunner of Polykleitos. This figure has been made a pivotal point in art history. We must concede that this pivotal point rests on an unproved assumption. If, however, we make a bold use of the assumption, certain important results fall into line. The Ligourio bronze has a very serious countenance. We have seen that just at the end of the archaic period in Athens a reaction took place against the smiling faces, both male and female, and, as often happens in revolutions, the pendulum swung to the opposite extreme. Now we have seen Athens to be a ready borrower, ever reaching out for what was best; and nothing is more probable than that, dissatisfied with her own work, she should turn to Argos, where sculpture was cradled,



FIG. 49. — Archaic Bronze Head.
(Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

for new lessons,—perhaps for new teachers. On the Athenian Akropolis there came to light a bronze head, about two thirds life-size, which seems at variance with the smiling creatures found near it, showing a serious if not a sad face (Fig. 49). The work is so exquisite that it can only be regarded as the work of a master of a finished bronze style. One would hardly go to Athens in the archaic period for a master of bronze style. Masters must have been as scarce there as they were plentiful in Argos. It is not overboldness to infer that we have here a product of the Argive school and that this figure, or similar ones, brought about a revolution in the art of Athens just before

the Persian War. This head has not only a serious mouth, but a strong chin and heavy upper eyelids, combined with extraordinarily fine treatment of the hair, and even delicate eyelashes of fine bronze wire. It is extremely doubtful whether an Athenian artist ever produced such a bronze head. It would be a greater anomaly than the production of a most elaborate Athenian "Maiden" at Argos. A strong bond connects this head also with the Apollo of the west gable at Olympia. But of that we shall speak later.

A striking relief in Copenhagen presents Orestes taking vengeance on Aegisthos for the slaughter of Agamemnon (Fig. 50).



FIG. 50. — Death of Aegisthos. (Copenhagen Museum.)

Orestes here appears as an *ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν* with a righteous cause for bloodshed. The vile Aegisthos is falling to the ground from the thrust of the two-edged sword. His bowels protrude. Klytemnestra, the mother, lays her hand on her son's shoulder as if to stay his wrath. But Electra's sarcastic look at her mother indicates that no mercy even for *her* is to be expected. The servants on the ends give vent to their grief by expressive attitudes. Naught

will avail to save the murderess. This relief is probably Argive, and is one of the most splendid remains of antiquity. The magnificent archaic figures are full of the wrath that was kindled in the house of the son of Atreus.

Sikyon. — The other early Peloponnesian school of note is that of Sikyon. This school was closely affiliated with that of Argos, and, like it, worked almost exclusively in bronze, so that it might almost be set down as a branch of the same school; and it is not strange that, a generation later, we find Polykleitos mentioned as belonging to both Argos and Sikyon.

Early in the first archaic period the Cretans, Dipoinos and Skyllis, had worked in Sikyon, and a generation later another Cretan, Aristokles, became the head of the Sikyonian school, and his family was active there for eight generations. His two grandsons, Aristokles and Kanachos, doubtless fall into the second archaic period. It is Kanachos whom we need to dwell upon. He seems to have been a prolific sculptor. But he is best known as the maker of the cultus statue of the Branchidae temple, the Apollo Phileios, of Aeginetan bronze. So famous was it that Dareios carried it off to Ekbatana, where it remained nearly two centuries, when it was returned in 306 B.C. by Seleukos Nikator. Coins of Miletos, both in early and in late times, reproduce this Apollo. In all cases he stands holding the fawn in his right hand and a bow in his left. One late coin of Gordianus III shows him in this attitude inside the temple. A bronze statuette in the British Museum,¹ the Payne Knight bronze, represents an archaic Apollo in the same attitude. In this case the bow is gone from the left hand, but it is clear that the fingers once clasped it. The bronze statue² once in the Sciarra Palace in Rome, also archaic, seems to have held a fawn in his right hand, while the whole left arm, which is new, holds a horn of plenty! An archaic statuette from Naxos³ has the same attitude of the hands, but in the right we find an aryballos. But since nothing could be more absurd than an

¹ Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archaeology*, 331, Fig. 251.

² Collignon, i. Fig. 161.

³ *Ibid.*, i. Fig. 122.

oil flask in one hand and a bow in the other, it may be suspected that the maker of the statuette converted the Apollo into an athlete by supplying the oil flask. It needs no violence to class this statuette with the others. The famous bronze statuette found at Piombino in Tuscany, now in the Louvre, a gem of art in true archaic style, probably bore the fawn on the outstretched right palm and the bow in the clasped left (Fig. 51). This, with the other statuettes, may give us some idea of what the Apollo of Kanachos was like.¹



FIG. 51. — Bronze Statuette from Piombino. (Louvre.)

Kanachos made also at Thebes a statue of the Ismenian Apollo, in cedar wood, so like the Milesian figure that Pausanias says that no one who had seen it could doubt that Kanachos made the Theban statue also. Kanachos' activity in Boeotia as a maker of one Apollo statue has suggested that another statue² in marble found at the Ptoion, of a considerably later date than the Boeotian figures of the stolid type, might be a replica of his Theban statue. But the Ptoion Apollo has such evident affinities with the Aeginetan gable figures that it may with more propriety be assigned to that school. We are now approaching the crossing of the ways. The schools have various affiliations one with another. Authorities begin to differ widely as to the

assignment of certain statues. Such is the case with the bronze head from Kythera,³ where the heavy chin of the Argive school is combined with a smile (Fig. 52).

¹ On this question see Kekulé von Stradonitz, *Sitz.-ber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1904, 786-801.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 12a; Von Mach, 15b.

³ Many are inclined to put this head into the first archaic period. It

Aegina. — Aegina, an island about ten miles distant from Peiraeus, formed a state, and a notable one, though at the battle of Salamis it furnished only thirty triremes, while Athens furnished one hundred and eighty. When the Athenians took possession of the island in 456 B.C., they captured seventy triremes, and still others escaped. Aegina was doubtless to be reckoned with as a naval power at the time of the Persian Wars; but its great days, reaching back almost to the Mycenaean period, were already in the past. Between 490 and 480 B.C. Themistokles had broken its power and Athens had eclipsed it. But with only twenty-four years more to live as a free state Aegina added at Salamis a glorious page to her history, contributing so much to the defeat of the



FIG. 52. — Archaic Bronze Head from Kythera. (Berlin Museum.)

Persians that the states participating in the battle awarded her the prize for valour. Probably jealousy of Athens played a part in this award; so that more than ever Aegina was felt by Athens to be an "eyesore to Peiraeus," and her "inevitable hour" came.

Of her art we should probably have known nothing worth telling had not a neglected temple in the northeast corner of the island, remote from the city, early shed its gable sculptures, to be covered up by accumulated rubbish and soil.

In 1811 an international party of English and Germans spent a has also been thought to be Aphrodite, chiefly perhaps because it was found in Kythera.

few weeks in clearing away this débris in order to secure a plan and elevation of the temple. At the very outset they came upon sculpture. At the end of their work they had secured, besides small fragments, substantial remains of fifteen figures, ten of which were assigned to the west gable and five to the east gable, with parts of two figures forming an akroterion surmounting one of the gables. The statues did not at first make a deep impression; and after some wandering about, they were sold for \$30,000 to the Crown Prince of Bavaria, afterwards Ludwig I.; and in 1828 found their way into the Glyptothek at Munich. Before that, however, the famous Danish sculptor, Thorwaldsen, had been given the task of "restoring" them in Italy. When he had finished his task, he declared that he could not tell the parts that he had added from the original parts. He had not scrupled to add here and there a head of his own making.¹ He also set the statues up on independent bases. Of course, it was a pity that this treasure did not lie in the ground fifty years longer, until the age of scientific excavation had arrived. But in spite of all this malpractice these sculptures form one of the most important documents in the history of Greek art. Without them we should have had a great gap.

As the figures are set up in the Glyptothek the two gable groups seem similar, each representing a combat between two bands of warriors rushing forward from the right and the left, while in the middle a helmeted goddess, marked by the aegis as Athena, stands stiffly, facing to the front, as if calling a halt to the hostile bands. A fallen warrior lies nearly in front of her. Two spearmen and an archer are pressing toward the central group on either side. In each gable corner lies a man mortally wounded.

Thorwaldsen's restoration, which rested largely on data furnished by Cockerell, the fortunate discoverer, placed only ten figures in the restored west gable; while no attempt was made at completing the other group. But since a figure of the east gable was clearly leaning forward to seize the fallen warrior next to

¹ *E.g.* that of the first spearman on the left in the west gable.

Athena, it was at once felt that the west gable demanded a similar figure. This was accordingly supplied by Cockerell in a restoration which he published in 1819,¹ and this restoration with eleven figures became the current representation in casts and cuts.

But a study of the numerous fragments revealed the fact that there were other figures bending forward; and to complete the symmetry of the group, the fallen warrior was placed directly in front of the goddess, so that they two formed a centrepiece, while to the right and left was a youth bending forward to seize the fallen warrior, and thus there was perfect response, figure for figure.² The next step was the positing of another spearman on each side behind the foremost, making a group of fourteen figures in each gable.³ Further fragments of these sculptures were brought to light by excavations carried on by Furtwängler in 1901 for the Bavarian government. The study of all existing statues and fragments led Furtwängler to the conviction that there were two fallen warriors in the western pediment, symmetrically arranged between pairs of combatants on each side of the figure of Athena. Between these groups and each corner are an archer, a spearman, and a fallen warrior (Fig. 53). The western pediment then contains thirteen fig-



FIG. 53. — West Gable of the Temple at Aegina. (Munich, Glyptothek.)

¹ In the *Journal of Science and the Arts*, vi, pl. I. For a well-illustrated account of the various restorations proposed by Cockerell and others, see Furtwängler, *Aegina, das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, 180 ff.

² A. Prachov, *Annali dell' Inst.* 45 (1873), 140.

³ Konrad Lange, *Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 1878, 1 ff.

ures, twelve besides Athena. In the eastern pediment the style is somewhat more advanced and the figures were probably less closely grouped than in the western pediment. Athena stands in the centre here also, but her attitude is less stiff; at each side is a group of three combatants, the middle one of whom is falling, but not fallen; there follows a kneeling archer, and a fallen warrior lies in each corner. Thus there are ten figures besides Athena.¹

There has never been any serious doubt that these gable groups represent Homeric battles. Now since one of the archers of the west gable wears a pointed cap and close-fitting trousers, he must be an Asiatic. This half of the gable, then, must contain Trojans. The foremost Trojan spearman, who has pressed forward into the other half of the gable, may be Hector, and the foremost of his foes may be Ajax, of Aeginetan lineage. If this supposition is correct, one of the dying warriors would be Patroklos. The east gable is supposed to present the older invasion of Troy, in which Herakles took the leading part. But as he is represented as an archer, although he is one of the finest of all the figures, he is relegated to a secondary place.

Another participant in this earlier invasion was Telamon, the father of Ajax; and it can hardly be doubted that he appeared in as conspicuous a place as that occupied by Ajax in the west gable. Thus the temple was a monument to the prowess of Aegina; but it was not the Greek way to represent the deeds of the present generation. As Pindar in his odes would not enlarge on the prowess of an Aeginetan who had just won a victory at Olympia, but would rather dwell on the glory of the great past of Aegina, so also did the sculptor.

The two figures bending forward to aid the falling warriors in the eastern gable are entirely nude and unarmed; so, also, are the wounded men in the corners of the western gable. The rest have implements of attack and defence. The spearmen have shields and helmets. The fallen warriors have in some cases shields and swords.

¹ See Furtwängler, *Aegina, das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, 1906, and in the pamphlet *Die Aegineten*, 1906.

The archers, who, of course, cannot carry shields, have leathern cuirasses. They are the only participants in the fray who are clothed. That men actually fought naked, but with shield and helmet, is not to be thought of. The sculptor, however, demanded a free field for his art. The custom of that period was to represent the male as an athlete, whether contending for the prize at Olympia or fighting for the fatherland. Nowhere before the Persian Wars, or even for some time after, was such attention paid to anatomical detail as in these Aeginetan groups. Anatomy rather than action is here the one object, "the be-all and the end-all" of the sculptor's art.

It has often been said that there is no real action, that a spell seems thrown over the combatants, as if they must keep these poses indefinitely. The goddess in each gable shows so little action that it was once proposed to regard both of them as *images* of Athena. What a contrast there is between them and Athena in the old gable group at Athens smiting down her foes! They are also, in contrast to her, slightly under life-size. The fighting men are still smaller. In comparison with the giants in the Athenian gable they are pygmies.

In grouping also, these gables are surpassed by the old Athenian gable. Here the small groups of men are arranged in mechanical symmetry. The significance of the dying men in the corners is dubious. Who killed them? In the Athenian gable burly giants rush from the corners of the gables; and everybody is engaged to the utmost of his powers. It is certain that the Aegina figures were not placed strictly in single file. The weathering is said to show also that some of them were in three-quarter view.¹ There must have been variety of position. The men leaning forward to aid the falling warrior were dowelled close up against the wall of the tympanum, and the fallen warriors in the western pediment were probably more in the foreground than the struggling spear-men; yet one who looks well at Furtwängler's grouping (Fig. 54) will abandon the idea that the figures locked like manikins.

¹ Adolf Furtwängler, *Katalog der Münchener Glyptothek*, and *Die Aegineten*.

Besides the elaborate work on every inch of surface, every accessory known to archaic sculpture was here brought into requisition. Paint was liberally applied. The figures stood out against a blue tympanum. Shields were blue on the outside and reddish on the inside, representing respectively metal and leather. Of the two archers in a gable, one had a red quiver and the other a blue one. The cuirass of Herakles was not only carefully wrought out, but was painted in detail. The goddesses were painted in almost exactly the same style as the "Maidens of the Akropolis"; and



FIG. 54. — Central Group of West Gable at Aegina. (Furtwängler's Restoration.)

herein, especially, is seen the influence of Ionic art. In general it may be said that what we have of the gable groups is the rough core without the adornments. Little holes everywhere show insertions. The addition of leaden locks of hair was a prevailing practice.

It was early remarked that the figures of the east gable are much superior to those of the west gable. This has been accounted for in two ways. The west gable may have been made first, and was improved upon in the east gable by a later and more gifted sculptor; or a master designer may have *wrought out* his figures in the east gable and left the work in the west gable to an assistant. There is no case extant where two gables are practically replicas one of the other, and yet are so different in their excellence.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that these gable groups were made by sculptors who, after working all their lives in bronze, had been induced to abandon it to make experiments in Parian marble. On the contrary, they appear to have known every trick of the most experienced workers in marble. They wrought the hair of the head, both the long wavy strands and the snail-shell curls at the ends, with great finesse. They wrought the pubes hair in the form of a spherical triangle, with utmost elaboration. They undercut the marble with absolute confidence, especially in the aegis of the Athena of the east gable. They made the figures stand in various attitudes with a minimum of dowelling and with slight attachment to their plinths. And yet for the most part the figures lack pulsating life.

The date of the Aegina gables has long been debated. For some time it was customary to assign them to the sixth century. But they were gradually brought down until it became the custom to regard them as a sort of trophy of the battle of Salamis. This conclusion is certainly wrong, unless we can suppose that Aegina, only fifteen miles distant from Athens, went on making archaic sculptures with broad shoulders and narrow hips, anatomical manikins, while Athens was producing figures that throbbed with life. Even if the pre-Persian gigantomachy gable was made as late as the expulsion of the Peisistratidae, 510 B.C., it is difficult to account for such an anachronism. But it is more probable that that gable goes back to Peisistratos himself. Could the Aeginetans have held to their antiquated types for half a century after the Athenian group had been displayed? Could they have done so when the metopes of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi and the frieze of the Treasury of the Knidians were already known to the whole Greek world? Probably the late date assigned to the Aegina gables would never have been accepted had we not had the wounded and dying Trojan in the left corner of the east gable (Fig. 55). Here we have the actual throes of death. The nervous grasp of the weapon with the right hand, the tension of the right leg (mostly restored, but in this case correctly), the relaxed fingers of

the left hand, and above all the open mouth, and the eye and cheek which show the death agony, make this one figure step out of its surroundings and seem like a forerunner to the "Dying Gaul" of the second century B.C. Even veins are here portrayed, long before the time of Pythagoras, who is credited by Pliny¹ with introducing this feature into sculpture. The eyelids are as clearly cut as they are on statues at the middle of the fifth century.

A recent French writer² claims that the west gable was made by a sculptor deeply imbued with Ionic traditions, who produced antiquated figures and faces, while the eastern or main gable was



FIG. 55. — Dying Trojan from Aegina. (Munich, Glyptothek.)

intrusted to a representative of the new generation which had broken with old traditions. The difference is evident to any careful observer, but it is not so great as to lead to the conviction that two opposite tendencies here clashed. But for the dying Trojan the theory would lose most of its plausibility. While the figures of the east gable are all better than the corresponding figures of the west gable, there is, with the exception of the dying Trojan, no other that suggests contrast so much as simple improvement. All the excellences of this one figure are not enough to upset the obvious judgement that the Delphic sculptures cannot be earlier than the Aeginetan, and that the latter can hardly be

¹ Pliny, 34. 59.

² Joubin, *La sculpture grecque*, 215.

later than 500 B.C. We know too little of the history of Aegina to find an occasion for the erection of this temple, which, after passing under two other names, seems now to have been fixed as a temple of Aphaia in spite of the fact that Athena appears as the central figure in both gables.

In treating of the schools of Argos and Sikyon we had great names and sought to find works to attach to them. Here we have tangible works, and have to guess the makers. And this is not easy, because practically all the great names of Aeginetan sculptors are those of workers in bronze. Kallon, the first of Aeginetan sculptors, was called a pupil of Tektaios and Angelion, who were pupils of Dipoinos and Skyllis. Thus he was at most only two generations removed from the origins, *i.e.* from the Apollos of Tenea and Thera. The greatest name of the Aeginetan school, however, was Onatas, who was a very prolific sculptor and received commissions not only from all parts of the Peloponnesos, but from Syracuse, Magna Graecia, Asia Minor, and the islands. The Thasians set up at Olympia his colossal bronze Herakles, fifteen feet high; and a colossal Apollo at Pergamon brought him great renown. Perhaps his most famous statue was his bronze black Demeter at Phigaleia, made to replace an older image, a task in which he is said to have been guided by a dream. But what interests us still more is that he made *groups* of statues. One at Olympia presented nine Greek heroes standing on a curved base, while before them on a separate base stood Nestor, holding a helmet which contained the lots by which the champion to fight Hector should be selected. Another group of his at Delphi presented the victory of the Tarentines over the barbarian Iapygians, and the fall of their king Opis. He made for Hiero of Syracuse a chariot and charioteer to commemorate his victory in the chariot-race at Olympia in 468 B.C. Thus it is known that Onatas was a maker of groups, and that he was active at a time when the Aeginetan gable groups were supposed to have been made. It was once thought not unreasonable to try to connect his name with them; and since there was a marked difference

between the two gables, it was natural to surmise that Kallon, the older artist, made the poorer, or at least more archaic, group, while Onatas made the finer, east gable, group. But it is evident that this is largely guesswork. Kallon would probably have been too old to share any work of Onatas. The new discovery of inscriptions containing their names on the Athenian Akropolis would not make them contemporaries, but only show that they were both active there before the Persian campaign of 479 B.C.



FIG. 56.—Bronze Head. (Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

It is unlikely that either of them would turn aside from bronze monuments to do decorative work on these gables.

There were other sculptors who shed lustre on Aegina, the foremost of whom was Glaukias, who made a bronze chariot for Gelon on the occasion of his victory at Olympia in 488 B.C., before he became tyrant of Syracuse, and who was much sought for in various parts of the Greek world. We find no hint that any of these artists worked in any other material than bronze.

This bronze school has probably left some trace of itself in its favourite material. The head found at Athens on the Akropolis (Fig. 56) seems to show in every detail the very kind of excellence that we should expect of that school. The delicate execution of the beard and mustache, where every hair is brought out by the finest of lines, the locks over the forehead coming out from under the helmet now lost,

the lips, the lower one bearing a deep depression, the thick eyelids and the plastic eyebrows, while they are incomparably superior to anything in the gable groups, nevertheless show a kinship to them. We feel the *character* of this man. When the eye sockets still held the white substance with which they are now partially filled, and the inserted crystal, the face must have been exceedingly life-like and very noble. The profile also is extremely delicate. There is no Attic head that closely resembles it. This may be Onatas' own work. At any rate, it is not unworthy of the greatest sculptor of the time. And he may have felt a pride in setting up at Athens one of his best works on a base which bore his name. One can imagine the statue to have represented an Aeginetan sent to Athens on a delicate mission.



FIG. 57.— Bronze Head from Herculaneum. (Naples Museum.)

There are other works in bronze that may with some plausibility be assigned to the Aeginetan school. Such is a head from Herculaneum (Fig. 57), torn probably from a full-length statue when it was taken from Greece and carried to the villa of the Pisos, where it was found in 1756. The head is beardless, and more youthful than the one just described, but it agrees with it in features, especially in the eyebrows and the lips. The hair is different, but is arranged much more like that of the Aeginetan gable figure leaning forward. In fact this style of coiffure, consisting of a fringe of bronze curls in front of the long braid surrounding the head, and the smooth

hair of the crown, seems to have been just what the marble cutter had before him as a model, of which he made a faithful copy. The bronze youth is a civilian, and is in some points to be contrasted with the older man. The braids of hair around his head are much like those of the yellow-haired Ephebos of the Akropolis, in which most authorities have seen Peloponnesian influence. The face is strong. Studniczka once proposed to regard the head



FIG. 58.—Archaic Bronze Head of Zeus from Olympia.

as a copy of Onatas' Apollo at Pergamon.¹

It has also been proposed to make the much-discussed Tux bronze statuette at Tübingen a product of Aeginetan art.² It is worthy of that high honour, having marvellous energy. But its claim is not so clear as that of the two already mentioned. Mere excellence is not a credential of Aeginetan origin.

Much clearer is the case of the Strangford Apollo,³ as also that of the small Apollo from the Ptoion.

The latter with its Aeginetan mouth helps to bind the former more firmly into the group to which it might even without that link be assigned on the strength of its coiffure.

A bronze statue of about the size of the Aegina statues, found in 1898 in the sea near ancient Kreusis, on the north shore of the Corinthian Gulf, has some characteristics that would lead us to assign it to the Aeginetan art. The hair, both of head and pubes, the latter in the form of a spherical triangle, like coarsely woven

¹ *Röm. Mitt.* 2 (1887), 105, Note 47.

² Collignon, i. 306.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 51; Von Mach, 16.

cloth, accords with that supposition. The bronze of the figure is so thin that some parts of it were badly worn away. But skilful restoration has left nothing but the arms missing. On the base is the inscription dedicating it to Poseidon.¹

It would hardly be temerity to assign a head of Zeus² (Fig. 58) found at Olympia to the Aeginetan workshop which contributed so much to Olympia. Here also we have the double row of snail-shell locks over the forehead. Three tresses fall over each shoulder. The mass of back hair is kept from spreading by a horizontal band, after which it is done up in the form of *krobilos*.

CHAPTER III

THE FIFTH CENTURY

PERIOD OF TRANSITION, 480-450 B.C.

THE somewhat common designation here adopted refers to a period which is a sort of bridge from the intense activity in sculpture before the Persian War to the great age of Perikles.

The rule of the Peisistratidae had been beneficial to the stability and growth of Athens. It was on account of a private grudge that Aristogeiton and Harmodios, a man and a youth, assassinated Hipparchos in 514 B.C. No popular movement was behind the act. But when Hippias had the two friends put to death, a sentiment against the tyranny grew; and four years later it was overthrown by intrigues of the oligarchy. At the end of another four years the democracy was established under Kleisthenes. Then it was, in 506 B.C., in all probability, that the bronze statues of the popular heroes, made by Antenor, were set up. But this group was carried away to Susa by Xerxes, after being held in reverence for a whole generation, while the heroes were made a theme for song and story.

¹ *Ephem. Arch.* 1899, 57, Pls. 5, 6.

² Furtwängler, *Die Bronzen von Olympia*, Pl. I.

When the city rose again from its ruins, these statues, which were invested with a sort of sacred character, were sorely missed, and two sculptors, Kritios and Nesiotes, the former famous, and the latter little known, were commissioned to replace them. In 477 B.C. the new group was completed and set up in a place called "the orchestra." But many years later Alexander the Great, or one of the Seleucid kings, brought back to Athens the original group of Antenor; and the two groups had stood side by side for about five hundred years when Pausanias saw them.

Both these groups in bronze long ago disappeared. But in the Naples Museum is a copy of one or the other in marble, which, in spite of mutilation and subsequent restoration, gives an excellent idea of the original. This is supplemented by parts of inferior copies, by coins, by a relief on the arm of a marble chair in Broom Hall in Fifeshire, and by a fragment of a vase in the Boston Museum.¹ Thus we have the means of securing a fair idea of the famous group. But until a few years ago it was regarded as very doubtful which of the original groups was represented by the copies. Some indeed supposed that the second group was a mere reproduction of the other.

Botho Graef,² however, by a thorough study of the female statue in the Akropolis Museum which bears the name of Antenor, has made it clear that that statue was so unlike the Naples copy of Harmodios in the structure of the head and in the style of the hair that the latter could not be regarded as reproducing a work of Antenor. This may be accepted as the prevailing view. It seems strange now that it was ever doubted. In the thirty years which separated the two groups there was tremendous progress in sculpture. Athens had got all that it wanted in the way of instruction from Ionia, and had declared independence. We may never know exactly how the older group of Antenor looked; but the relation between the groups was almost certainly one of contrast. Kritios is not likely to have archaized. Currents were at that time too

¹ Also by the Panathenaic amphora on the Skaramanga vase in Vienna.

² *Ath. Mitt.* 15 (1890), 1.

strong for a sculptor to stand still. Neither is it probable that Antenor, who made the female figure which is a typical example of the Akropolis "Maidens," and who still stood chin deep in the Ionic flood, would or could have made figures like these.



FIG. 59. — Harmodios and Aristogeiton.
(Naples Museum.)

It is the group of Kritios and Nesiotes that the Naples group presents (Fig. 59). We have a human head of heavy proportions, especially in the chin, and not a mere block, which the female head of the Antenor statue might, without great injustice, be called. We find an eye set into the skull instead of resting on the surface, real ears instead of mere flaps.

But the Naples figures have been restored, and there has been considerable question as to the attitude of the figures. They have been variously reconstructed in different casts. Harmodios has two new arms, a new right leg almost entire, and a new left leg from the knee downward. Aristogeiton has fared even worse, in having

a head of Lysippean style put in the place of one probably something like that of Harmodios, but representing an older man. Besides this, he was damaged by having his left arm with drapery hanging from it knocked off and put on again at a different angle, giving a downward slant. On the fragment of a vase in the Boston Museum¹ both men are making a fierce onset against

¹ *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, iii. 27; *Röm. Mitt.* 19 (1904), 163, Pl. 6.

the tyrant, who was probably not represented. Harmodios, the youth, smarting under the affront to his family, is in front, rushing forward with his sword thrown far back to strike; Aristogeiton, bearded, is more in a position of guard, ready to make a thrust from behind his himation, which hangs from his uplifted left arm.¹ It is probable that the two actually charged side by side. But the painter could not easily represent it so. The clumsy restoration did great injustice to the young Harmodios, who is here presented in the attitude of guard, while he was really straining himself to the utmost to deliver his slashing blow.

The style of the Harmodios head is a proof that the copyist was conscientious. The long heavy chin, the low forehead, and the cranium covered with snail-shell locks show this. In both bodies we have typical athletes of the time.²

Lucian says of Hegias, Kritios, and Nesiotes that their works are "concise, sinewy, hard, and exact, and strained in their lines."³ In this remark he not only shows his superiority to soi-disant critics like Pliny, but seems to have made his observations in the presence of the Tyrannicide group itself. Here is no superfluous flesh, but abundant straining. These figures of heroic mould seem able to brush away the whole line of Aeginetan warriors, pygmies by nature, from their shelf. But it is not to be supposed that all the figures of Kritios and Nesiotes were in strenuous action. The Somzée athlete⁴ might be regarded as of the same school, but is an example of quiet and reserve. The left leg is gently bent.

¹ A vase of Duris (Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. 21) shows an Athenian warrior much like Aristogeiton, but charging more fiercely.

² J. Lange in his *Darstellung des Menschen in der Alt-Griechischen Kunst* (p. xi) applied his "law of frontality," taking the young Athlete on the Akropolis as an example. This law followed the rule "that an imaginary line passing through the skull, nose, backbone and navel, dividing the body into two symmetrical halves is invariably straight, never bending to either side." The Tyrannicides have broken the shackles.

³ *Rhetor. praecep.*, 9, ἀπεσφιγμένα καὶ νευρώδη καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἀποτεταμένα ταῖς γραμμαῖς.

⁴ Furtwängler, *Sammlung Somzée*, Pls. 3-5.

The last touch of archaic stiffness is eliminated, and yet it is still to be classified as archaic by its archaic grace, such as Lucian ascribes to Kalamis. The attitude is very much like that of Pelops in the east gable at Olympia. In fact, as we proceed from this point we find occasional suggestions of the gable figures of Olympia.

The Tyrannicidē group is preserved to us only in a copy; but in the excavations at Delphi a bronze charioteer¹ (Fig. 60) was discovered, a work of about the same date as the group of Kritios. The charioteer was probably in the chariot along with his master, holding the reins of the four horses,² while two boys were on either side. The whole rested on a stone base, on which is cut a metrical inscription in two lines, only the ends of which are preserved. The end of the first line, Πολύζαλος μ' ἀνέθηκεν, gives us an approximate date.³ Gelon died in 478 B.C., the very year of his victory in a chariot-race at Delphi. His brother, Poly-zalos, as the next oldest member of the family, made the dedication, probably not later than the following year. Thus we can date the charioteer with reasonable certainty at 477 B.C., the



FIG. 60. — Delphic Charioteer. (Delphi.)

¹ Published by Homolle in several journals, but best in the *Monuments Piot*, 4 (1897), 169, Pls. 15, 16, a year or more after its discovery.

² Many fragments of these are extant.

³ Part of the inscription is lost, and part of it, including the name of Poly-zalos, is written over the original inscription, which has left, however, some

very year to which we have assigned the Tyrannicide group of Kritios. While there is resemblance in the features, the contrast in attitude is what strikes us at first. Harmodios is in a life-and-death struggle; the charioteer is wrapt in his mantle as in a sheath. He is calm, one might almost say cold. One would hardly call Harmodios beautiful, except as manly vigour is an element of beauty. But the charioteer is one of the most beautiful statues of antiquity. Had the head been lacking, there would still have been much to admire. It is true that the sheath in which the figure is enclosed from the waist downwards gives only the slightest suggestion of a human form beneath it. But the feet and the right arm (the left is lost) are beautifully moulded. The single garment, a long woollen chiton with short sleeves, covers also the upper part of the body, but in a graceful way. A cord passing under the armpits and over the shoulders, crossing behind and attached to the girdle, had the function of preventing the garment from catching too much wind. At the same time a series of simple and effective, because natural, folds is produced over the breast. The form of the body is felt and partly seen under the drapery. But there is no sweep of the garment in the breeze, as on the charioteer frieze of the Mausoleum, because here the figure stood with his master in the chariot at parade rest after the race was run. Of course the spirit of the age also was different.

But it is the head, after all, that interests us most. It has a cold, impassive calm. It has the heavy chin of Harmodios, but a high cranium utterly different from his. The flat locks which traces. From these traces, O. M. Washburn, *A. J. A.* 10 (1906), 151-153, makes out the name Arkesilas. He believes that the group was originally dedicated by Arkesilas II, of Kyrene, in which case the artist was a certain Amphion of Crete (cp. Paus. 10, 15, 6). F. v. Duhn, *Ath. Mitt.* 31 (1906), 421-429, regards Anaxilas of Rhegion as the original dedicator and Pythagoras of Rhegion as the probable artist. A. D. Keramopoulos, *Ath. Mitt.* 34 (1909), 33-60, thinks Gelon dedicated the group himself and his name was erased by Polykalos. If that is correct, the group must have been dedicated in 478 B.C. Keramopoulos suggests Glaukias of Aegina as the possible artist.

cover it are very different from Harmodios' snail-shell locks, and remind one of Myron. They are bound by a diadem with a meander pattern representing a diadem of metal, probably gold, from under which curling locks stray over the temples and back of the ears, while in front of the ears a streak of the down of youth falls over the cheeks very much as on a youth by the vase-painter Euphronios.¹ The eyes, fringed with metallic lashes, do not speak of the heat of the race nor of the satisfaction of triumph. The eye-balls are set in enamel. The eyelashes are inserted in thick lids. The half-opened lips add to the expression. Fine as this charioteer is, we must remember that he was simply a charioteer, a youth doing his work for his master.

The impassive face of Harmodios is a usual case of the lack of play of features to correspond with the heated action of the figure. Even twenty years later the figures at Olympia show for the most part no excitement, even in the fierce battle with the Centaurs. Thus the charioteer is in keeping with his age. Whether he should be assigned to the Attic workshop, as Joubin² proposes, it is not possible to affirm. It may be put down as not improbable.

Olympia.—The excavation of Olympia, 1877–1881, threw great light on the development of sculpture. The results were not eclipsed even by the subsequent excavations at Athens and Delphi. In the eighteenth century Winckelmann had emphasized the importance of excavating the site. In 1829 the French made trial excavations, bringing to light the Cretan Bull metope and part of another. It was, however, reserved for Ernst Curtius to secure, through the Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards Emperor Frederic, who had been his pupil, the funds for a systematic excavation of the whole site. The work was a model for all succeeding excavations. A group of the best archaeologists of Germany here began their careers under the general direction of Curtius and Adler. The publication of the results reflects great honour on German scholarship. Had the Aeginetan sculptures been treated in like

¹ Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. 41.

² Joubin, 152.

manner we should have much more light on the composition of those pediment groups than we now possess.

While not so many masterpieces of sculpture were found as was anticipated, the Hermes of Praxiteles alone, found during the first campaign, would, if put up at auction among the museums of the world, go far towards paying the expenses of the enormous labour. All the sculpture in marble or other stone was described by Georg Treu.¹ The large volume of text accompanying the superb plates is a monument to German insight, as well as patience. The bronzes were treated with the same thoroughness by Furtwängler.² These works are intended to be definitive; after long waiting and weighing of mint, anise, and cummin, as well as weightier matters, the workers have said their last word.

The sculptures adorning the great temple of Olympian Zeus fall in the period now under discussion. The date of the temple is fortunately fixed. Made with funds resulting from the sack in 468 B.C. of Pisa, a city near at hand, which had become prosperous from managing for a long period the affairs of the sacred place, it was completed in 457 B.C., the year in which Sparta defeated Athens and Argos at Tanagra, and put the seal on her predominance at Olympia, which had really begun with the destruction of Pisa and the elevation of Elis to the nominal guardianship of the temple. In that eventful year the Spartans set up on the akroterion over the east gable a golden shield with an inscription on it, boasting of their victory.³ The next year, 456 B.C., was the year for celebrating the 81st Olympiad. How the humbled Athenians and Argives must have enjoyed that festival!

The temple, by far the largest in Greece, already bore its

¹ *Olympia III, Bildwerke in Stein und Thon.*

² *Olympia IV, Die Bronzen von Olympia.* These works supersede not only the five provisional annual publications under the title *Olympia*, but also the numerous articles in various periodicals, which are interesting mainly as showing how the truth was threshed out and sifted.

³ A part of this inscription, which was copied by Pausanias, was discovered. *Arch. Zeit.* 40 (1882), 179. Cp. *Olympia V*, No. 253.



FIG. 61. — East and West Gable Groups at Olympia. (Restored.)

sculptured metopes and probably its gable groups.¹ The east gable group (Fig. 61) represented the mythical chariot-race from Olympia to the Isthmus of Corinth by which Pelops won his bride, Hippodameia, and became lord of the Peloponnesos. The contestants of old were looking down from their high position upon the men of the present who were to cover themselves with Olympic dust and glory. In the middle stood Zeus, a majestic figure.² On his right, the lucky side, stood the youthful Pelops, helmeted but nude;³ on the other side of Zeus, Oinomaos, the king of Pisa, bearded, helmeted, and with a sort of shawl thrown over his shoulders. According to the legend, the Delphic oracle had told him that he was fated to die at the hands of his son-in-law. To escape this fate, he challenged every suitor for his daughter's hand to run the course to Corinth with death as the forfeit. As he had horses swift as the wind, and had slain many, he was full of confidence and pride. He always gave the youthful suitor the start, while he sacrificed. On overtaking him, he transfixed him from behind with his spear. The moment before the start is here represented. Both contestants hold spears, and Pelops a shield besides. Oinomaos turns slightly away from Zeus, an evil augury, and plants his right hand upon his hip, throwing out his elbow toward the god. Sterope, his wife, standing beside him, droops her head and throws up her right arm, foreboding ill. But Oinomaos, puffed up by long success, thinks "to win without Zeus." With this is contrasted the attitude of Pelops with his head modestly bent forward. It is evident from the break at the neck that Zeus inclined his head decidedly towards the modest youth. Hippodameia stands immobile, awaiting the issue with folded arms.

On the right and left of this rather stiff group are arranged the

¹ Metopes had to be in place before the horizontal cornice was laid. Gable figures were *usually* contemporary with the gable.

² No trace of his head was found.

³ As an afterthought, to fill out his form and make him thus better balance Oinomaos, he was given a bronze cuirass. This is evidenced by nail holes symmetrically placed.

attendants of Pelops and Oinomaos. Two quadrigas, with a squatting nude boy in front of Pelops' chariot and a robust, draped man in front of the other, and a man behind each of the chariots, fill most of the rest of the gable. Pelops' charioteer, Killas,¹ is half kneeling behind his chariot, as if about to mount, with the reins (of bronze) in his hands. Oinomaos' driver is squatting before his horses, pulling the reins down. His call to start will come much later. He must be the famous Myrtilos who, bribed by Pelops, pulled out the linch-pin of Oinomaos' chariot and caused his death.²

In the figure which, behind the chariot of Oinomaos, balances Killas, we have one of the most remarkable creations of this gable (Fig. 62). He is bald-headed and has a



FIG. 62. — Figure from East Gable. (Olympia.)

wrinkled forehead. The rolls of fat below his chest contribute to make him realistic, a hero, perhaps, of many fights. Some have seen a sinister look on his face and taken him to be Myrtilos, the traitor.³ Others have interpreted the expression as that of a seer who saw swift destruction coming upon his master. Both explanations are uncertain.⁴ Back of the immediate attendants

¹ Paus. 5. 10. 7.

² There is probably no suggestion of this treachery here. It would be a bad augury for the real chariot-races. As in the first Olympian ode of Pindar all must appear fair and bright on the part of the young hero.

³ But it is reasonably clear that he was not holding reins, since he rests his head upon his right hand.

⁴ It was at first supposed that the chariots were not represented from lack of space; but not only was the space sufficient, but traces of them are clear.

of the chariots there are on the right a maiden supposed to be an attendant of Sterope, and on the left a youth, naked like the boy in front of Pelops' horses, half kneeling and half squatting like Sterope's maid. Lastly, in the corner, are two reclining male figures, with heads raised to follow the ascending line of the cornice. These figures were called by Pausanias Alpheios, at the south end, and Kladeos, at the north.

The grouping of the figures is adapted to the space. Zeus, colossal, about eight feet high under the apex of the gable, dominated the group. Pelops and Oinomaos are, as befits heroes, somewhat over life-size. Sterope and Hippodameia are about the proper size for mortal women. Thus the descending line of the cornice seemed a natural border of the group as it ran close over the heads of the central group, then over the bodies of the horses, and finally over kneeling and reclining figures to the corners. The scene is quiet, preparatory to action.

The west gable (Fig. 61) is in this respect diametrically opposite. We have here a fierce fight between Lapiths and Centaurs, a favourite theme in Greek art. In the centre stands Apollo (Fig. 63), with his body facing to the front. His head, however, is turned to his right, so that his face is in almost three quarters view. He held a bow in his left hand, which is extended downward, and grandly stretches out his right to quell the tumult. On the right of Apollo, as we face the gable, stands Theseus, and to the left Peirithoös, the Lapith king, whose bride is being attacked. The heroes strike with battle-axes the monsters who hold the struggling women in their grasp. On Peirithoös' side, the left, is the bride, Deidameia, marked as such by her richer garments. Theseus is next to Apollo the finest figure in the gable.¹ The huge bulk of the Centaurs makes the contest seem unequal but for the fact that the god is there. The heroes also are no mean support.

¹ The fine head, after being assigned first to Deidameia and then to Peirithoös, has been correctly claimed for Theseus. This is perhaps the first case of the division of the forehead by a horizontal depression, which is not seen at all on female heads.



FIG. 63. — Apollo, Central Figure of West Gable. (Olympia.)

The women, who have beautiful forms, tear with all their might the hair and beard of the Centaurs, at the same time trying to protect their persons from the brutes' insulting grasp.

To the right and left of this central group of seven figures¹ are two groups of two figures each, a Centaur and a youth, the youth in the left half being a tender boy. Both struggle with all their might, the one in the right half trying to throttle the Centaur with his abnormally long arm which the Centaur is biting, causing him to express pain.² Then follows a group of three on each side. On the left a Centaur is pulling down by the hair a kneeling woman, at the same time putting his hoof into her lap; while a naked Lapith, taking a grip with both hands, pulls his head down toward the corner of the gable. The corresponding group on the right represents a Centaur tearing the clothing off a woman, while a youth farther down in the gable thrusts a sword into the monster's breast. In the extreme corners are two pairs of women looking on, perhaps because it was impossible to find room for a Centaur group here. The foremost one of each pair shows a lively interest in the scene.³ They rest on slanting blocks which raise their heads up to the ascending line of the gable. The very last ones need no such raising.

¹ It appears reasonable to regard the god and the two heroes facing outward from him as a group. This would leave for the other figures the following numerical grouping from left to right; 2 3 2 2 3 2 2 3 2. But if we consider the god, as we perhaps ought, as a figure by himself, we should have the responson 2 3 2 3 1 3 2 3 2.

² The only such case in the sculptures of the temple.

³ At some unknown date these two pair suffered practical annihilation. The whole western gable group was doubtless, like the eastern, originally of Parian marble; but now the two reclining figures at the left end (north) are of Pentelic. So, also, is the foremost of the pair in the right corner, although the slanting block on which she reclines is Parian. The figure behind her is Parian with the exception of the outstretched right arm. The original figures were probably destroyed or damaged at an early date by an earthquake. The restored figures are in entire keeping with the rest except that the figure to the extreme left has the upper eyelid projecting over the lower at the outer corner, a trait not seen elsewhere in the gables.

As in the east gable so here the figures are adapted to the space to be filled. Apollo, the god, in the centre is taller than the heroes on his right and left. Then follow erect Centaurs, women, Centaurs kneeling, Centaurs dragged down to the ground, and finally reclining women as spectators of the fight. The limitations of space are regarded from the centre to the corners.

The east gable is somewhat open, or at least less crowded than the west gable. The former has but thirteen human figures. It has, it is true, two quadrigas each of which might be regarded as the equivalent of three human figures. But the huge Centaurs and the Lapiths in strained action are a partial equivalent for the quadrigas. Twenty-one such figures as the west gable holds did not let much of the background show.

Both groups are, in the main, treated in relief style, for front view only. The backs are everywhere slighted, somewhat more in the west gable than in the other. The woman in the last Centaur group to the right has no body at all below her breast, only a skirt attached to the Centaur. In the quadrigas of the east gable only the outermost horse is wrought out; and the back side also is shaved down a good deal. The other three were simply a rough block with three heads appearing in echelon in front of the outermost horse. Such neglect, somewhat unusual both earlier and later, is singular. What a contrast to the principles of the Aegina groups!

The Olympia gables were in some cases roughly finished even in parts that were visible. Paint must have been applied to the head of Theseus, to that of "Kladeos," and many others. Seen from fifty or sixty feet below, and from the requisite lateral distance of two or three times that amount of space, all this slighting disappeared, and the effect was doubtless immensely satisfactory, in perfect keeping with the architecture of space, on which stucco heavily painted covered the very poor material of which the temple was made. This was no Parthenon, where everything was wrought out in the finest detail.

There are in the west gable three heads that have a value in the

history of art. Above all is the cold but noble head of Apollo. His gaze following the direction of his extended right arm promises victory. "All that the gods work is effortless and calm." The contortions of the bestial Centaurs are all in vain. We read their doom in that strong and pitiless face. Second only to the head of Apollo are the mortal heads of Theseus and of the suffering Deidameia. Next to these in interest are the heads of the reclining figures in the left corner of the west gable, and next to those the head of Kladeos in the right corner of the east gable. The head of the Lapith whose arm is being bitten by a Centaur has a strong resemblance to the head of Harmodios, both in its shape and in the hair, although the locks are not so tightly curled as those of Harmodios. On the whole we are fortunate in the preservation of so many heads.

The question to what school the Olympia gables belong has been much debated; and it is not too much to say of it *quot homines tot sententiae*. They have been assigned to every known school from Ionia to Sicily. Some critics have even assigned them to a local school. The Argive school was for a long time in favour. In more recent times an Attic origin has gained some support.¹ Sicilian origin, although proposed by Kekulé,² found little favour. Sicilians may have had their orders filled largely in the mother country. The similarity observed between the Olympia sculptures and the metopes of Temple E at Selinus might better be accounted for by supposing the latter made by sculptors from Greece.

But one may say, "Have we not the clear testimony of the veracious Pausanias that Paionios of Mende made the east gable figures and Alkamenes the other?" It took some time to get free from this supposed binding statement. But how much it has now become discredited is seen from the variety of schools to which authorities have assigned the gables. Pausanias, when he visited Olympia at about the middle of the second century A.D., did not come to impart information but to get it. The ciceroni of the place

¹ Joubin, 243.

² *Arch. Zeit.* 41 (1883), 241.

were his source of information. That guild is very much alike in all places and at all times. How unlikely it was that they would tell Pausanias that some strolling or local sculptors now unknown to fame made those gable figures! No, they must light on some name of note. They knew that Paionios had worked at Olympia at some time, because his name was cut on the base of his famous Nike close to the east front of the temple. In the inscription on that base he mentioned that he had made akroteria for the temple.¹ It is possible that the ciceroni of the second century A.D. thought that "akroterion" meant a gable, and so started the error. This is, however, uncertain. But it is certain that Paionios, who made his Nike as late as 424 B.C., can hardly have been more than a youth in 457 B.C., when the gables were already completed. It may also be put down as certain that the same sculptor could not have made such different sculptures as the Nike and the east gable group. What probably happened was this: the ciceroni, not being satisfied with an anonymous sculptor, and seeing the name of Paionios cut in big letters on this base so near to the east front of the temple, told the story off-hand that he had made the sculptures of the east gable. What did they know of style? The case against Alkamenes is equally clear. He was at work in 403 B.C. when, after the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants, he made two statues for Thrasybulos. Could he have been famous enough to have the execution of a gable of this great temple assigned to him as far back as 470 B.C.? The Greeks did not usually have a longer career than that of Sophokles! The idea for some time current that there was another and older Alkamenes seemed strengthened by an inscription on a statue recently found at Pergamon.² But statue and inscription have been declared by a competent authority³ to go no farther back than the well-known Alkamenes.

But what seems to make it certain that one or the other of the claimants must drop out is the well-known fact that not only are both gables of the same style (a result impossible in the case of

¹ Paus. 5. 26. 1.

² *Jahrbuch (Anzeiger)*, 1904, 76.

³ Winter, *Ath. Mitt.* 29 (1904), 208-211.

two masters of pronounced style) but the metopes also. Finally it is difficult to put implicit confidence in the report of Pausanias, who took the Apollo of the west gable, that commanding figure, to be Peirithoös. Pausanias is thus convicted of at least a lack of observation, perhaps one might say of extreme gullibility. It is also not unlikely that having imbibed Roman notions, he deceived himself in naming the end figures in the east gable Alpheios and Kladeos. The notion that rivers were represented in early Greek art by human figures has been stoutly combated by Walz.¹ Later Furtwängler² took upon him the defence of Walz and maintained that in the fifth century B.C. the personification of streams in art was unknown, and that the notion rests solely on this statement of Pausanias.

NOTE. — The arrangement in Fig. 61 is that of Treu. It is, of course, possible that this arrangement is not always correct. Curtius' arrangement, which is followed in the museum at Olympia, is impressive, but it is in many cases demonstrably wrong. Treu's final adjustment was based upon infinite shifting and proving. It has given the *coup de grâce* to many other proposed arrangements. He had two guiding principles: (a) To bring to front view what was worked to be shown. (b) To group the figures so that all except the two inserted in front of the horses should have their heads close against the descending cornice of the gable, thus avoiding the large open spaces of other arrangements. Nearly twenty years passed before the definitive work of Treu was given to the public. In the meantime a large body of literature on the gables had come into being. So voluminous is it that it is hardly practicable to cite here all these articles. Treu overlooked none which had been published when he wrote. Wernicke (*Jahrbuch*, 12 (1897), 169) made some weighty suggestions on the east gable group which deserve special mention. He made Oinomaos and Sterope change places with Pelops and Hippodameia. He put an altar in front and a little to the right of Zeus with the two men advancing obliquely towards it, and the women following. He maintained that the dowel holes in the backs of the figures show that they

¹ *Eckfiguren am Ostgiebel des Olympischen Zeustempels und am Westgiebel des Parthenons*; a work of great merit but very inaccessible, in *Program des Evang. Theol. Seminars zu Maulbronn*, 1887. This was the first attack on a long-cherished error.

² *Masterpieces*, 457; *Jahrbuch* 6 (1891), 87, and in various other passages.

were placed obliquely to the background. The idea of an altar is an old one which had been discarded on what seemed sufficient grounds. The suggestion has great interest as bringing the principal persons into an action of great significance instead of letting them stand otiose. The great objection to it is that the story makes Oinomaos sacrifice before the departure of Pelops.

While the exact spot where each fragment of gables or metopes was found was noted, very little light was thus obtained as to their exact placing. The fragments were widely scattered by the earthquake which threw them down. It is, however, worth noting that not a single fragment belonging on one end of the temple was found lying at the other end.

The Metopes.—The metopes on the outside of the temple were left without sculptural decoration. The cella, however, had them at each end. At each end of the cella was a portico with two columns, which gave six metopes. These represented the twelve labours of Herakles, who was held in especial honour at Olympia. The fragments of the east porch were never mixed with those of the west, and thus it was easy to assign them to their places. The order was as follows, beginning on the south end and proceeding to the right :—

On the East, proceeding to the Right

1. Erymanthian Boar.
2. Horses of Diomedes.
3. Geryon.
4. Atlas.
5. Kerberos.¹
6. Augean Stables.

On the West from North to South,
proceeding also to the Right

1. Nemean Lion.
2. Lernean Hydra.
3. Stymphalian Birds.
4. Cretan Bull.
5. Arcadian Stag.
6. Amazon Hippolyta.

Of the metopes the two finest are the Atlas metope on the east and the Bull metope on the west, partly but not altogether because they are best preserved. Fate has doubtless been kind here. The next best are the Augean Stables on the east and the Stymphalian Birds on the west. The rest are, for the most part, fragmentary and not impressive as works of art. The Atlas metope, perhaps without design, agrees well with the stationary char-

¹ The usual order of subjects made Kerberos last, but the Augean metope bears the mason's mark *A*, which shows that it was the first in the line, or what we call the last.

acter of the east gable above it, while the Bull metope agrees equally well with the strenuous action and contorted lines of the west gable. But the parallel goes no farther. Since, however, they are as near as possible to the centre, one is tempted to see design here. But the order is more probably a lucky accident. There are other metopes in which the action is nearly as strenuous as in the Cretan Bull metope, e.g. the Augean Stables metope.

The Atlas metope (Fig. 64) deserves more than a passing look. There is delightful *naïveté* in Atlas' holding out the coveted apples



FIG. 64. — Athena supporting Herakles.
(Olympia.)

for Herakles to take them when his whole strength is required to support the heavens. The woman who stands behind Herakles and eases his load with her hand is not one of the Hesperids, but his sympathetic goddess Athena, a splendid draped figure well contrasted with the two nude males. There are indications that she bore a spear.¹ It was long thought that the double cushion which Herakles

held was all that he visibly bore; but it has been ascertained that something now missing rested upon the roughened upper surface of the cushion, something that represented the weighty heavens, — the sky that would fall unless somebody held it up. Atlas will presently go back to his eternal task and Herakles to other labours.

The Cretan Bull is in the Louvre, with the exception of a few

¹ A hole is bored perpendicularly through her closed right hand.

parts found in the German excavations. The Athena of the Stymphalian Birds metope, sitting negligently on a rock, is also in the Louvre, from the excavations of 1829, and is represented in the Olympia Museum by a cast.

The style of the metopes is very much like that of the gables. There is the same slighting, only to a higher degree, of the hair, which implies paint. As on the gables, the chisel left much to the brush. The relief is quite high. A striking example is that of Herakles thrown out in front of the bull. The sculptors were not bent on finesse, but on effects, and they got them, as did the sculptors of the gable groups. Sterope wears the same long woollen chiton with diploidion which is seen on Athena in the Atlas metope and in the Augean Stables metope. The straight folds remind one of a fluted column.



FIG. 65. — Zeus and Hera on Metope of Temple E at Selinus. (Palermo Museum.)

With these figures from Olympia there may be grouped several female figures, some of which are probably copies made in Roman times ; as, for example, the Hestia Giustiniani,¹ and a female statue in Copenhagen.² Contemporary or nearly contemporary with the Olympia gables is Temple E, at Selinus, judged from a single metope to be a temple of Hera. This metope (Fig. 65) is the most interesting and expressive of four that

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 491; Von Mach, 75.

² Arndt, *Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, Pl. 7; Joubin, 161, Fig. 53. A head has recently been found for it.

are preserved. It represents Hera presenting herself in all her overpowering charms to Zeus on Mount Ida.¹ The sculptor who put this beautiful idyllic scene from the *Iliad* into sculpture was a master. Zeus in his eagerness, as Hera unveils herself, seizes her by her left wrist, overpowered by her loveliness. But there is no ignoble suggestion in the scene. It is noteworthy that all the female figures in this series have the nude parts made of marble. Heads and arms are inserted in the limestone body. The males are entirely of limestone. The other three metopes — Herakles overpowering an Amazon, Aktaion and Artemis, Athena striking down Enkeladas — are much inferior to that of Zeus and Hera. Of a somewhat earlier date, but still in the period under discussion, are two metopes from Temple *F*, at Selinus, with the lower part only preserved. Both represent a gigantomachy. In one, Athena, marked by her aegis, is striking down the giant, who opens his mouth in the death agony. The other goddess is not marked with any certain sign. She is perhaps Artemis.

At this point we must take cognizance of the fact that the Olympia sculptures stand on the verge between the old and the new, and we must now take note of several pieces which serve as a transition to a freer style of art.

We have in Fig. 66, from the Museo delle Terme, a relief, found in 1887 in the grounds of the Villa Ludovisi, one of the gentlest and sweetest representations of the great goddess Aphrodite rising from the sea, assisted on the right and left by two attendants, probably Horae. Helbig finds in the relief an accouchement scene. In that case we cannot place it in the first period of transition from the archaic. It can, however, hardly be doubted that it is a solemn presentation of the birth of Aphrodite. The goddess rises from the watery element, the seashore being indicated underneath the feet of the attendant Nymphs. Her wet, clinging drapery is to be covered by a thick, woollen robe, which is drawn up from the right and left. It has already been drawn up high enough to accord with the solemnity of the great occasion. It is proper

¹ *Il.* 14. 152-352.

that, being in relief, the goddess should have her head in profile, while the breast should expand. In her gentleness she looks for attendants to help her. We have unfortunately lost the heads of these beings ; but their attitude suggests in every motion the wish to assist. We can more readily accept the loss of these heads, since in the central figure the head is absolutely perfect. A sweeter Aphrodite than this could hardly be portrayed.

Had we only this figure we might put it much later, perhaps in the Periklean age ; but the accessories forbid it. The lines of the



FIG. 66.—Aphrodite rising from the Sea. (Rome, Museo delle Terme.)

skirts fall stiffly in parallels. The hair above the band is very carefully adjusted, as are the long tresses which fall over the left shoulder. On the whole the watery element is sufficiently indicated ; but to make sure that the seashore is here we have pebbles under the feet of the attendant Nymphs. A touch that marks the relief as archaic is the awkward arrangement by which the six arms appear in two masses. The feet are ungainly and awkwardly placed.

The relief has at some time been roughly chipped off at the top, so that the heads of the attendants are lost; the ornaments at the bottom have also been cut away (possibly to be replaced with bronze ornaments), though the feet are almost intact. The whole



FIG. 67.—Head of Goddess. (Rome, Museo delle Terme.)

plaque is about five feet long and three feet high. Attached to the main relief are two shorter arms or wings, forming three sides of what has been called a throne.¹ On each of these short arms a woman is portrayed. Both rest on cushions; but, apart from that fact, the two are apparently sculptured to point a contrast. One is a young woman absolutely nude and playing on a double flute, as she leans back on a thick cushion in the abandon of *nature avec le printemps, mourir*

avec la rose. She is content to be happy and to die. On the other arm is a woman much older, draped from the top of her head to the sandals. Her attitude is stiff as can be. She

¹ In the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston is a three-sided relief (not yet published) so similar in shape, size, and style that it must be considered in connection with the one discussed in the text. Were not the front about three inches shorter, the two might almost be regarded as parts of one monument. The scene on the front represents a winged figure weighing two nude "souls" in the presence of two seated women; on one end a nude cithara player cor-

throws incense, which she draws out of a flat box, into a cup on a high standard. She is sad if not severe. It seems as if the sculptor had before him the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, or something like it. The Foolish Virgin, if so we may call her, is one of the sweetest creations of the group. She may not have chosen "the better part," but her sweetness allures. Perchance the great Anadyomene may take her to belong to her chosen circle. Were it not for their association with Aphrodite we might take the reliefs as picturing "summer and winter." But bound up as they are with her, we are safer with the interpretation here proposed.¹ Mrs. Eugenie Strong² comes to the conclusion that this relief belongs to Kalamis. This may be right; but our knowledge of Kalamis is so slight that we are still groping in the night. It is natural to feel that this is *like* his work.

A colossal head in the Museo delle Terme (Fig. 67) belongs to the same period as these reliefs, and shows some similarity to them in style, in spite of its lack of life, which may be due in part to its size and in part to the fact that it belonged to a cultus statue.

There are other survivals either in originals or copies which may with considerable certainty be assigned to the period of transition even if we cannot give them a more definite date. The five bronze dancing women from Herculaneum in the Naples Museum fall in this class.³ The stiff folds of the Doric chiton with diplois ally them with figures in the east gable and metopes of the Olympia temple. The immobile features are entirely out of accord with the action in which the women are supposed to be engaged.

responds to the nude flute girl of the Ludovisi relief; and on the other end is a curiously realistic old woman. The beautifully cut scrolls on the bottom suggest what is missing from the bottom of the Ludovisi relief.

¹ *Antike Denkmäler*, ii. (1891-1892), Pls. 6 and 7.

² *J. H. S.* 14 (1894), 204 ff. Petersen (*Röm. Mitt.* 7 (1892), 32 f.) has attempted to prove a connection of this throne with the colossal female head (Fig. 67), and that the whole combination can be traced back to the famous sanctuary on Mt. Eryx in Sicily.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, Nos. 294, 295; Von Mach, 76.



FIG. 68.—So-called Penelope. (Rome, Vatican.)

The so-called Penelope (Fig. 68), probably a funereal figure, preserved in several copies, one of which is in relief, is most pleasing. The head is bent forward, resting on the right hand.¹ The left with the palm pressed flat against her seat supports the body exactly as in a sepulchral relief from Thespieae in the Athenian Museum.² A diadem is pushed low down on the forehead, and over the head is thrown a thick veil that somewhat shades her face, which is very calm. It is only in the attitude that grief is expressed. This copy has been much restored. The rock should be replaced by a chair with a work-basket under it, as in other replicas. The garment, a chiton with



FIG. 69. — Spinario. (Rome, Capitoline Museum.)

sleeves, has much more elaborate folds than the drapery of the figures from Olympia, and the assignment to this period must be regarded as doubtful. There is, of course, no support for the current name "Penelope." But under whatever name it passes it has a certain charm that every one must feel.

To this period almost certainly belongs the so-called Spinario (Fig. 69), a boy engaged in pulling a thorn from his foot. This

¹ The Vatican copy, here given on account of its completeness, is incorrectly restored. Another head, in the Berlin Museum (No. 603), which may be an original, preserves traces of the right hand, which held the veil.

² Kabbadias, *Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἑθνικοῦ Μουσείου*, No. 817.

also exists in several copies, the best of which is a bronze statue in the Capitoline Museum. The theme seems at first sight trivial and out of place in serious sculpture of the early part of the fifth century. But a view of the boy's face corrects this impression. That face is immobile and serious ; but shows no expression of pain. His thought is concentrated on the act of pulling out the thorn. There can be little doubt that the figure belongs in the sphere of athletics. The boy has run his race and won, in spite of stepping on a thorn which has cruelly wounded him. In his first moment of victory he pulls it out. Athletics being to the Greeks an important part of life, the statue stood as a memorial of the boy who conquered not only his antagonists, but also his pain. The lean, spare form shows him to be a youth of about fifteen years. This figure shows an asymmetry greater than any that sculpture had shown up to this time, but it is not unpleasing. We do not think of his attitude but of his concentration of thought and action in pulling out the thorn, as a moment before he had been intent on winning the race. Archaic features are the thick eyelids, which once held enamel (like the bronze head on the Akropolis, illustrated on page 101), and the deep parallel grooves in the hair. Of course, with the head held in this position the hair would naturally fall down and cover the cheeks ; but the sculptor took no note of that. This statue is, perhaps, not a copy but an original.

It is no wonder that such a bold stroke found imitations. But every one has variations that are inevitably deteriorations. One¹ represents the boy pulling out the thorn in a rage. This variation is at least half a century later than the original, perhaps more. Several of the replicas are in marble. One of the best of these is a marble head in the Louvre, which has hair much like the original, but none of its life.

It is not unlikely that this original with which we started is a product of the Argive school, which appears for a long time to have held sway at Olympia, and to have produced especially

¹ A bronze found at Sparta, and now in the possession of Edmund Rothschild.

athletic statues. It is, of course, also possible that it is from the workshop of Pythagoras; but here we are in the realm of pure conjecture.

The statue of a victorious girl racer¹ falls in this transition period. She might well be the twin sister of the Spinario. This young girl with Amazonian traits might, without the "restorations" of a new nose and both arms, have equalled the Spinario. Even as it is, she is no mean figure of a girl athlete. Her simple tunic and her intent look give her an appearance such as would make a Spartan mother proud. Her face — in the copy — is immobile. She is at the service of Sparta and fears not to run in the stadion for her city before the crowd.

Kalamis. — We turn now to two great names, Kalamis and Pythagoras, to whom we may also add Hegias, of whom we know little. The work of Kalamis probably falls entirely within the period of transition, while Pythagoras was also busy after 450 B.C.² and was practically contemporary with Myron.

The high esteem in which Lucian held Kalamis, especially his Aphrodite, called Sosandra, has led to attempts to assign to him the original of some of our copies. It was, however, a mistake to try to attach his name to the athletic type represented by the Choiseul Gouffier³ "Apollo" and the "Apollo" of the Omphalos (Fig. 70). To be sure, an artist of that time was many-sided; but the "nameless grace," for which



FIG. 70. — "Apollo" of the Omphalos. (Athens, National Museum.)

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 521.

² Robert, *Hermes*, 35 (1900), 141.

³ Collignon, i. Fig. 208.

Kalamis was distinguished, would lead us to something very different from the athletic type. Moreover, in the list of his works the athlete is conspicuously absent. In fact, Kalamis is credited with nearly everything except athletes. He was very prolific, working over a wide area, and in bronze, marble, and gold and ivory. The loss of every trace of his work is one of the greatest losses in the history of sculpture. It is small gain that Cicero¹ tells us "Kalamis' works are hard, but yet softer than those of Kanachos"; and Quintilian² speaks to the same effect.³

Pythagoras. — The attempt to ascribe something tangible to Pythagoras, of whom we know painfully little, is in recent times somewhat persistent. Waldstein has made a good case against Conze,⁴ Winter,⁵ and Furtwängler⁶ in making the "Apollo of the Omphalos" at Athens an athlete. Certainly the statue never had any connection with the Omphalos. It seems hardly possible that one could look on that muscular form with the hair bound up in the fashion of athletes without recognizing in it an athlete. That he belongs in our period is shown by the form of the pubes hair. When Waldstein⁷ goes farther and attempts to prove that the original statue of this type was a work of Pythagoras his case is not so clear. Pythagoras was a celebrated sculptor of athletes, and there ends our certainty. The appearance of veins and sinews on the arms of the replicas is not sufficient to prove their Pythagorean origin,⁸ inasmuch as these are already strongly marked on the fallen warrior from the east gable of Aegina. Some day we may have a genuine Pythagorean statue; but that is doubtful, now that no more light can come from Olympia and Delphi. This is another of

¹ *Brutus*, 10. 70: *Calamidis dura illa quidem, sed tamen molliora quam Canachi.*

² *Inst. Orat.* 12. 10. 7: *Jam minus rigida Calamis [fecit].*

³ It has been suggested that there were two sculptors named Kalamis, one of the fifth century, the other of the fourth. See Reisch, *Jahresh. d. oesterr. Arch. Inst.* 9 (1906), 199-268; Studniczka, *Kalamis*, Leipzig, 1907.

⁴ *Beiträge*, 19.

⁵ *Jahrb.* 2 (1887), 234.

⁶ Roscher, *Lex.* i. 456.

⁷ *J.H.S.* 2 (1881), 332 and *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, 323.

⁸ Pliny, 34. 59: *Hic primus nervos et venas expressit.*

the greatest gaps in our knowledge, inasmuch as this Samian who migrated to Rhegion was probably the equal of Myron.

The attempt to find the style of Pythagoras in the youth from Perinthos¹ and in other athletes has not met with convincing success, although Furtwängler has provisionally established a Pythagoras group,² to which, however, the Perinthos head is not admitted.³

Hegias. — Of Hegias, an Athenian, who has the honour of being called the first teacher of Pheidias, we know next to nothing, except that his style was stiff and archaic.⁴ What he taught Pheidias is not known. What little credence the story gets comes from the fact that Hegias was not famous enough to have legends of greatness attached to him.

AGE OF THE GREAT MASTERS

Myron. — It is a relief to turn from a series of artists who, despite the efforts made to fasten on them this or that statue in museums, still remain mere names, to the great masters of the fifth century. We begin with Myron as the oldest of the group, whose *début* falls in the period of transition. His birth may be put as early as the close of the sixth century, since his son Lykios had in 446 B.C. acquired sufficient celebrity as a sculptor to be chosen to make two groups of horse and rider, set up on either side of the approach to the Propylaea at Athens.⁵

Myron probably had only a slight priority in age over the other two stars of the first magnitude, Polykleitos and Pheidias, who with him illumined the sky of Greece. That they were all at work in 450 B.C. is made certain by the recently discovered Oxyrhynchos Papyrus containing a list of Olympic victors.⁶

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* 16 (1891), 313.

² *Masterpieces*, 172.

³ The most elaborate discussion of Pythagoras is by Lechat, *Pythagoras de Rhégion*, Paris, 1905.

⁴ Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 12. 10. 7: *Duriora et Tuscanicis proxima [fecit]*.

⁵ Lolling, *Deltion* (1889), 179.

⁶ Robert, *Hermes*, 35 (1900), 141 ff. From this papyrus it appears that

The statement that Myron was a pupil of the Argive master, Hagelaïdas, is thoroughly credible on chronological grounds. Furtwängler,¹ however, prefers to insert Hegias as a step from the Argive master to Myron, in whom he sees Argive traits. There is little doubt that Myron was a Boeotian,² and became an Athenian by the annexation to Athens of a considerable strip of Boeotian territory on the south side of Kithairon, including Eleutherae, Myron's birthplace, but it is doubtful whether any of Myron's characteristics can be ascribed to his Boeotian origin. Pausanias constantly calls him 'Αθηναῖος.³ He is best known by his Diskobolos and his Marsyas, in both of which he has thrown archaic stiffness to the winds and far outrun in freedom the makers of the Tyrannicide group. He worked in bronze, by preference in Delian bronze; but if we have no original from his hand we have unmistakable copies in marble of two of his works.

The best copy of the Diskobolos is that now practically inaccessible in the Lancelotti Palace in Rome.⁴ It may, in fact, be called a superb copy. It agrees exactly with Lucian's description⁵ of the original. "The discus-thrower," he says, "is bent down into the position for the throw, turning his head toward the hand that holds the disk; and, all but kneeling on one knee, he seems ready to straighten himself up at the throw."

We have before us in Fig. 71 a lithe, vigorous youth in a momentary attitude, but showing in every line the youthful victor

Myron was still working in 448 B.C., and Polykleitos in 452 B.C. That Pheidias was at that time at the acme of his powers has never been in doubt. Thus Pliny was not in error in calling Myron and Polykleitos *aequales et condiscipuli*.

¹ *Masterpieces*, 53.

² A later sculptor, perhaps of the same family, bore the name, Μύρων Θηβαῖος, Loewy, *Inscripfen griechischer Bildhauer*, 154.

³ Paus. 6. 2. 2; 6. 8. 4.

⁴ Found in 1781 on the Esquiline. Other copies exist in the British Museum, in the Lansdowne Collection, in the Museo delle Terme, and in the Vatican.

⁵ *Philopseudes*, 18.

who must in the next moment unfold his beauty of body, limbs, and face, while he receives the plaudits of thousands who see his disk speeding beyond the marks of the other competitors. Nowhere else do we see so well the spirit of the great games in bodily form. "This one thing I do." The running and the wrestling were long drawn out; but the throw of the disk was over in one supreme effort. This right leg will not sustain the terrible strain for more than a moment.

The spirit of Greek sculpture inclined so much to repose and calm that it is no wonder that Quintilian should say *Quid tam distortum et elaboratum quam est ille discobolus Myronis?*

To appreciate the statue fully, we must think of the original bronze poised upon the right foot and silhouetted against some background. The marble copies were of necessity dependent on the

tree trunk, which detracts much from the effect. Not the least among the points of superiority of the original must have been its poising. Even the copy, poorly photographed at that, shows the sinews of the right hand strongly marked. The expressionless face may be due in part to the copyist; but it may be doubted whether Myron attempted to portray emotions. The head, though lacking facial expression, is of a high-bred type with



FIG. 71.—Myron's Diskobolos. (Lancelotti Palace, Rome.)

a high crown.¹ The hair is somewhat slighted, as was probably the case with the original.²

Another athletic statue representing Ladas, a runner falling in death just as he crosses the line, had much more celebrity than this nameless discus-thrower, and portrayed probably an even higher degree of tension. A. Mahler³ believes that Ladas is represented in the Naples "wrestler" to the left.⁴ Both these so-called wrestlers at Naples are doubtless runners.

Another work of Myron which exists in copies is the Satyr,⁵ Marsyas, who was about to pick up the flutes which Athena had thrown away in disgust on seeing her distorted face reflected in the water as she tried to play on them. He is represented as he appeared the moment after Athena had charged him to let the vile things alone. The muscular action, which in the Diskobolos was pending, has here already taken place. The tension has passed over into another rather constrained position. Either by chance or because of the celebrity of the original we have several replicas of this scene.⁶ The statue in the Lateran Museum best represents the muscular strain in the Satyr as he recoils from the stern goddess. But perhaps never has the fever for restoration shown itself so ridiculously as in this statue. Besides some other restorations of little importance, Marsyas has received two new arms; and, of all things in the world, he is

¹ Furtwängler has discovered in the Louvre a cast of the head of the Diskobolos which brings out the fine features far better than any photograph that had ever been secured.

² Pliny, 34. 58: *Capillum et pubem non emendatius fecisse quam rudis antiquitas instituisse.*

³ Polyklet, 17.

⁴ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 354; Von Mach, 289.

⁵ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 208; Von Mach, 65 a.

⁶ A coin of Athens, a sculptured relief on a marble vase from the Finlay Collection, now in the National Museum at Athens, and a red-figured vase in Berlin, reproduce the whole scene. Besides these there is a bronze statuette of Marsyas from Patras, now in the British Museum, and a marble statue in the Lateran Museum at Rome.

restored playing the castanets to his own *pas seul*. Undoubtedly he was really shrinking back in terror. The attitude of the Patras bronze is probably not quite correct, but it escapes being ridiculous.

Myron by no means confined himself to statues of athletes and figures in strained attitudes. His versatility was marked. Pliny says of him *Primus hic multiplicasse veritatem videtur*.¹ He made gods and heroes in great numbers. Zeus, Apollo, and Asklepios seem to be his favourites among the gods, and Herakles and Perseus among the heroes.² He appears to have made few statues of goddesses, and as to the appearance of these we have practically no clue.

If Myron had never carved a human figure, he would have been distinguished as a sculptor of animals. A bronze heifer on the Akropolis at Athens would alone have conferred fame on him. In the almost innumerable epigrams composed in her praise, she is represented as so life-like that shepherds tried to drive her off with their herd, calves came to draw milk from her udders, and much more of the same sort, enough to prove the great esteem in which this cow was held.³

It is not unusual to see Myron classed as a "realist" in opposition to Polykleitos, who wrought out his figures according to a scheme, and is called a "theorist." Pheidias is known as the "idealist." Thus we should have three great pupils of Hagelaïdas branching out in three different lines. But it is extremely doubtful whether Myron ought to be classed as a realist. He was prolific as a sculptor of gods, as the records show; and as to his much-discussed *pristae*,⁴ who have been thought to be two men working with a cross-cut saw, which would be realistic in the extreme, a probable emendation has made them boxers, *pyctae*.⁵

¹ Pliny, 34. 58.

² Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, 165, devotes some fifty pages to presumable copies of these lost originals. But here we are in the realm of controversy.

³ In the Louvre Cabinet des Medailles there is a small bronze figure of a cow which Collignon (i. 476) would associate with Myron. It is a worthy representation of the masterpiece.

⁴ Pliny, 34. 57.

⁵ Loeschcke, *Program Dorpat* (1880), 9.

Several other statues have with more or less probability been assigned to Myron. The one that has perhaps the best claim is a bronze statue (upper half) from Tarsos, now in Constantinople.¹ The head resembles that of the Diskobolos, especially in the curly locks of hair. The Riccardi bust of a hero in Florence, as well as the Ince-Blundell head, is also ascribed by Furtwängler² to Myron.

An athlete,³ in the Munich Glyptothek, pouring oil into his hand may also have some claim to be Myronian. But the famous



FIG. 72. — Idolino. (Florence, Archaeological Museum.)

Idolino (Fig. 72), in Florence, one of the most beautiful bronze statues in the world, though put in the Myronian group by Kekulé, must be denied a place there. In fact, it has been withdrawn from the group by Kekulé himself in a later article, in which he speaks of it as Attic without asserting that it is Myronian (p. 161).

The Diskobolos is strained to the utmost; but his face is as cold as the marble of which it is made. Myron

never attempted to express feelings. In this he agrees with his time. The day was still far off when Skopas should express the intense workings of the soul. And yet Myron's figures as seen in the head of a hero,⁴ calm but forceful, remind us somewhat of Michelangelo's work, which is full of strength. A Myronian head found at Catajo⁵ is perhaps a more exact copy. No one can extrude the Berlin head.⁶ There is more question as to the

¹ Joubin, 133. ² *Masterpieces*, 167, 172. ³ Brunn-Bruckmann, Nos. 132, 135.

⁴ *Masterpieces*, 167. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 169. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 170.

Myronian high-crowned heads which form a group, the Ince-Blundell head, the Perinthos head, and best of all the high-crowned head from Copenhagen.

Polykleitos. — Polykleitos, though known as the great master of the Argive school in the next generation after Hagelaidas, was probably a Sikyonian by birth.¹ He belonged to a family of sculptors, some of whom worked at Sikyon and others at Argos. The Argive and Sikyonian schools had been affiliated since the times of Dipoinos and Skyllis; and this close association covers the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries. In this Argive-Sikyonian family the names Polykleitos, Patrokles, and Naukydes appear twice. Some of these sculptors recorded themselves as "Argives" and others as "Sikyonians." This duplication has given rise to some confusion. Works of Polykleitos, the grandson or grand-nephew, have been ascribed to the older and greater sculptor, who thus appeared as a wonderful example of longevity. This contemporary of Pheidias,² in 460 B.C. a sculptor of renown,³ has been represented as working after 404 B.C. on the trophy set up at Amyklai to commemorate the overthrow of the Athenians at Aigospotamoi. Happily, it is now made quite certain that Polykleitos, the younger, is responsible for all works bearing the name Polykleitos after the completion of the great gold and ivory statue in the new Argive Heraion, probably shortly after 420 B.C. It was doubtless he who was engaged on the trophy at Amyklai.⁴ The fact that he was architect of the famous Tholos at Epidauros and of the theatre at the same place, assigns him mainly to the fourth century B.C.

The migration of the great Polykleitos from Sikyon to Argos was a natural and easy step. The distance was a day's walk; the

¹ Pliny, 34. 55: *Polycritus Sicyonius Ageladae discipulus*.

² Plato, *Protagoras*, 328 c, 311 c.

³ The *Oxyrhynchos Papyrus*, with list of Olympian victors, dates the Kyniskos statue at 460 B.C. See p. 161, note 3. Cp. Robert, *Hermes*, 35 (1900), 141.

⁴ Polykleitos, the younger, probably took no pains to distinguish himself by inscriptions on his works from the greater artist of the family, bearing the same name.

two cities were Dorian and their schools of sculpture affiliated. It may be that Polykleitos felt that he had something to learn from the veteran Hagelaïdas before his death. Their collaboration, perhaps brief, is made possible by supposing Polykleitos to have gone to Argos immediately after the dedication of his Kyniskos statue in 460 B.C., when he may well have been over twenty years of age, and may already have executed some other commissions. There is no good reason for the persistent attempt to make a wide gap between Hagelaïdas and Polykleitos, such as would preclude the relation of master and pupil. Why distrust the statement that Hagelaïdas made a bronze statue of Zeus Ithomatas for the Messenians to set up in Naupaktos, to which they removed in 455 B.C.? Four or five years of collaboration at least are possible. There can be very little doubt that Hagelaïdas, with sons for pupils, was a commanding figure at Argos. While the Ligourio statuette may not adequately represent his style, its stocky proportions seem to foreshadow the style of the Doryphoros. The bronze head from the Athenian Akropolis (Fig. 49), the forerunner of the Apollo of the Olympia gable, in which Peloponnesian influence has long been recognized, is not improbably a work of Hagelaïdas; and it would do no discredit to his high reputation.

Polykleitos' fame was enlarged at Argos while Pheidias was working at Athens. Plato would hardly have spoken of them as contemporaries and of equal renown if Polykleitos had come upon the stage shortly before Pheidias was leaving it. Both probably closed their careers with their great chryselephantine statues, Polykleitos outliving Pheidias by about fifteen years. While Pheidias tasted the bitterness of envy, hate, and unjust accusation, dying in prison, Polykleitos probably lived on in serene tranquillity to the end, controlling with his personality and talent the Argive school, of which he was the undisputed head. His chryselephantine Hera was by many preferred to Pheidias' Athena Parthenos.¹

The resurrection of Polykleitos began in 1789, when, in a building at Pompeii, recognized as a palaestra, a marble statue of an ath-

¹ Strabo, 8. 372; Martial, 10. 89; Plutarch, *Perikles*, 2.

lete now in the Naples Museum was brought to light. In 1865 this statue was identified by Karl Friederichs as a copy of the Doryphoros mentioned by Pliny. Polykleitos himself appears to have called the original "the Canon," because it was made to exemplify his principles as to the proportions of the male body. A treatise which he wrote, setting forth these principles, was also called "Canon." Thus Polykleitos appears as a scientific sculptor with definite principles. The Doryphoros (Fig. 73) rests his weight on the right leg, while the left is thrown back and rests on the toes and the ball. This is generally understood to be a momentary position. The next moment the left foot would come forward, breaking the long inward curve on that side of the body, while the protruding right side will be thrown in, producing another curve. We see the promise of walking; and yet the shoulders hardly partake of the action, but glide along horizontally. This position is in a sense theoretical.¹ Here is none of that energy which Myron threw into his Diskobolos.



FIG. 73. — Polykleitos' Doryphoros.
(Naples Museum.)

It has been said that in the Doryphoros Polykleitos puts before us "not a man, but the *body* of a man."² The work leaves the spectator cold. Repose

¹ Mahler (*Polyklet*, 29) says: "Er steht in Ruhe und ist weder im Schreiten begriffen noch hält er inne im Schritt." This means that the figure is simply at rest; but one can hardly fail to see the suggestion that it is *ready* to move forward.

² Von Mach, *Greek Sculpture, Its Spirit and Principles*, 251.

is here, but no freedom. The Canon, to call it by the sculptor's designation, appears to embody a scale of proportions. The finger's breadth $\times 4$ = the palm, the breadth of the hand; the palm $\times 4$ = the length of the foot; the head $\times 4$ = the breadth of the shoulders; and the head $\times 7$ = the total height of the body. These are only samples. It is to be remembered that Pythagoras of Rhegion, who was Polykleitos' senior, emphasized numbers in his theory of form. In some of Polykleitos' heads, especially in that of the Doryphoros, critics have recognized a sort of rectangular structure. The nose is like a pillar cut off at the bottom, with nothing to rest on. The skull broadens out at the back, so that a horizontal section of it resembles the section through an egg laid on its side.

The Doryphoros being, of course, an athlete, is marked as a pentathlete by the javelin which he holds over his left shoulder. But he is nearer "parade rest" than action. The restraint here appearing was characteristic of Polykleitos and was of incalculable benefit in steadying art in the latter half of the fifth century, and long after his death. Perhaps no sculptor contributed more to what may be called the distinctive characteristics, "order, regularity and repose." In him *Μῆδεν ἄγαν* is ever present.

The effect of the Doryphoros is not, however, altogether pleasing. It is heavy. But it must be remembered that the original was of bronze. Polykleitos worked in Delian bronze.¹ The muscles, no doubt, especially those about the abdomen, suffered exaggeration in the translation into marble. Instead of good muscle we have fat. The Portalès torso² in Berlin avoids this error to some extent. The marbles lately found at the Argive Heraion, probably made under the eye of the master, are free from it.

The bust of the Doryphoros from Herculaneum,³ a copy made by Apollonios, of the time of Augustus, is interesting as being of bronze. While on the marble copy the locks are flat and

¹ His chryselephantine Hera is, of course, an exception.

² Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique*, i. Pl. 29.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 336.

simply sketched on the cranium, here they are raised, and probably give a touch of the original. But to offset this advantage Apollonios introduced boxers' ears, a feature not befitting a young pentathlete.

A relief kept for a long time in the Demarcheion at Argos¹ represents a youth with a long spear over his left shoulder, standing beside a horse. Since this was found at Argos, it may be regarded as a fairly faithful translation of the Doryphoros into relief. The horse, of course, is an addition, making the scene a grave relief. The numerous copies of the Doryphoros attest its popularity.²

The Diadumenos (Fig. 74), a youthful victor in the games, engaged in binding the fillet of victory around his brow, was little less famous than the Doryphoros, if we may judge from the frequency of copies and the literary notices. Lucian mentions the fact that one hundred talents were paid for it.³ The attitude of the Doryphoros is retained, except that the arms are otherwise employed. The



FIG. 74. — Polykleitos' Diadumenos.
(British Museum.)

¹ In 1900 the Demarcheion was broken into by thieves, who judiciously selected this sole valuable piece in the building.

² Mahler enumerates, besides the Naples figure, six whole statues, seventeen torsos, thirty-six heads, and the bronze bust of Apollonios. Many of the heads probably come from busts with which it was usual to adorn gymnasia.

³ *Philopseudes*, 18. An enormous sum, considering Greek prices.

several good copies are all of slenderer build than the Doryphoros.¹ For a long time the best copy of the Diadumenos was that found at Vaison in southern France, now in the British Museum. But in 1894 a copy decidedly superior, and better placed on its base, was found in the French excavations at Delos.² This is now in the Athenian Museum. Other copies, among which the best are in Madrid, Copenhagen, and in the British Museum, attest the popularity of the original. The best of all these is that in the British Museum, called the Farnese Diadumenos. A head in Dresden surpasses all the other Diadumenos heads in beauty of detail and finish. The Diadumenos was clearly later than the Doryphoros. Not only do we see that it was an adaptation of the Doryphoros, but there are delicate touches which show advance in the master.³

Pliny⁴ tells of a series of four Amazons set up in the Artemision at Ephesos, purporting to have been made by four sculptors, Polykleitos, Pheidias, Kresilas, and Phradmon, in a competition in which Pheidias came off second to Polykleitos. Much ink has been wasted over the assignment of the various types to their authors. Many, perhaps most, authorities have given up the whole story as a local legend, such as local exegetes love to indulge in. That four Amazons were actually set up in the temple, or near it, is not improbable. That there was an actual competition of the four sculptors is possible. But the story that the four sculptors themselves, as a committee of award, voted with the result that each artist received one vote for the first prize, while Polykleitos had three votes for the second, recalls the story of the

¹ Pliny (34. 55) emphasizes this difference, calling the Doryphoros *viriliter puerum* (Lessing's "Ein Jüngling wie ein Mann") and the Diadumenos *molliter juvenem*. But he confesses a monotony in Polykleitos, granting that his statues were *paene ad unum exemplum*.

² This has, however, been claimed as a work of Pheidias by Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, 244.

³ *Masterpieces*, 243. Furtwängler goes so far as to see in this change the influence of Attic sculptors in the latter part of Polykleitos' life.

⁴ Pliny, 34. 35.

distribution of prizes after the battle of Salamis. Some declare that our Amazons all belong to a single type. Others, noticing a Praxitelean motive in one of the types leaning on a pillar for support, would assign some of the Amazons to the fourth century.¹

Furtwängler² stands for the integrity of the tradition of a competition. "This statement," he says, "has met with undeserved contempt. It should be considered as confirmed from the fact that copies of precisely four statues of standing Amazons still exist, which on the one hand are clearly to be referred to four different artists, and, on the other, are evidently closely connected by identical measurements, by a general similarity of conception and dress, and by their belonging to the same period of art."

While three types of Amazons have usually been recognized, the Berlin type (Fig. 75), the Capitoline³ type, and the Mattei⁴ type, assigned to Polykleitos, Kresilas, and Pheidias, respectively, Furtwängler claims that the Amazon of the Villa Doria Pamfili⁵ represents the type of Phradmon, and that it comes nearest to the Polykleitan type. That it stands alone, and yet resembles the Polykleitan type



FIG. 75. — Polykleitos' Amazon.
(Berlin Museum.)

¹ The same attitude is seen on gems, one of which appears to belong to the fifth century.

² *Masterpieces*, 128.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 349.

⁴ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 350; Von Mach, 121.

⁵ *Masterpieces*, Fig. 52. Falsely restored as an Artemis with a dog.

most closely, agrees with the fact that Phradmon was an Argive. "The fact," says Furtwängler, "that only one copy of Phradmon's Amazon has survived, not only bears out the judgement recorded by Pliny, according to which his name figures last in the list of competitors, but also explains the exiguity of his fame. The Berlin type has been generally attributed to Polykleitos for reasons so sound that they need not be even discussed." He also holds that it is an error of later times to have diverged from the view of Otto Jahn, who claimed the Capitol type for Kresilas. It is strange to find Furtwängler among the conservatives, where, however, he is probably right. In the Polykleitos and the Kresilas types the wound in the breast is present to mark the Amazon as a brave fighter who had succumbed only after doing her best. Pheidias in the Mattei type, which had a head of Capitoline type put upon it, appears to have chosen a different motive, and to have represented his Amazon as vaulting upon her horse. There is, therefore, more pathos in the Amazons of Polykleitos and Kresilas. There is nothing masculine about the forms of any of them, and the spectator yields to them, because of their sex, that pity which they disdain to crave.

Of the work on which Polykleitos' fame rested in great measure, his chryselephantine Hera, we know little. Reports compare it with the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias. On coins of Argos¹ and Elis² Hera appears as the wife of Zeus in the guise of a maiden, her locks flowing down from under her high and ornamented diadem.

Since Polykleitos was not a worker in marble, it may be assumed that he had no close connection with the decorative sculptures of the temple of Hera at Argos. The fact that these are of Pentelic marble points to a connection with Athens. It is highly probable that their style had been affected by Attic relief, since Athens in the period 450-430 B.C. forged so far ahead in that branch of sculpture as to impose its principles upon Argos. A half century earlier Athens had gone to school to Argos; but now, by the

¹ *Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. 26, No. 36.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. 14, No. 30.

powerful influence of Pheidias, the tide had turned. The beautiful head of Parian marble found in the recent excavations at the Heraion, though claimed by Waldstein¹ as Polykleitan, has been declared by several good judges to show Attic features such as imply the presence of Attic sculptors at Argos.

Several other statues and heads belong clearly to the Polykleitan sphere. The Westmacott statue² has with considerable unanimity been declared to be a true copy of the famous Kyniskos. It varies from the Diadumenos in the attitude of the arms. The left arm hangs down, unoccupied, while the right is probably raising a fillet to the head, which is bent down to receive it. The scheme, observed in the Doryphoros and Diadumenos, of throwing the weight of the body on the right leg, is here reversed. Knowing the date of the Kyniskos to be approximately 460 B.C., we may assume that Polykleitos had not at that time conceived his famous Canon.³ In the attitude of the beautiful Edgar Vincent head⁴ we see that it belongs to a replica of the Westmacott statue. The Dresden Boy⁵ is surely Polykleitan, but he is not pressing on a wreath. The bronze head in the Louvre from Beneventum⁶ is no doubt a Greek original. The artist, says Furtwängler, was inspired by Polykleitos, "but was open to Attic influence." It is one of the finest heads that have been preserved from the wreck of Greek sculpture.⁷ The famous Idolino in Florence (p. 152), though claimed as Myronian, is by others assigned with positiveness to the Polykleitan cycle. Kekulé, who once pronounced it a work of Myron's school, has more recently called it simply Attic.⁸

¹ Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, frontispiece.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 46.

³ The Kyniskos statue could be absolutely dated but for the known exceptions to the immediate dedication of statues.

⁴ Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, 251, Fig. 103.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. xii, Fig. 112.

⁶ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 324; Von Mach, 481.

⁷ Since a wreath formed of two kotinos twigs lies in the hair, the head must have come straight from Olympia.

⁸ *Beilage zu den Amtlichen Berichten aus den königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, 18ten Jahrgang No. 5, Juli, 1897. "Er gehört noch in die Epoche

Several other claimants, besides numerous replicas, may belong here. Some that have long been classed as Polykleitan must be excluded. Such probably is the so-called "Hera Farnese,"¹ which bears such a resemblance to the Hera head of the Aktaion metope of the Selinus Temple *E* that it has with some justice been assigned to the school of Kritios,² with the name of Artemis. Attempts have been made to give a chronology of Polykleitos' masterpieces. The Kyniskos, as represented by the Westmacott statue, must come first, at the very beginning of his career. Next, probably, comes the Doryphoros. The Diadumenos is certainly later, being in many ways a Doryphoros adapted to fit the new motive. Any attempt to give a more detailed chronology would perhaps be venturesome.

After all the praises bestowed on Polykleitos, an ancient judgement debarred him from the very highest rank beside Pheidias because he lacked "pondus," which seems to have belonged to Pheidias alone. This enigmatical word may be explained as the quality that made a line of Aeschylus, when put into the scale, heavy enough to outweigh Euripides with all his plays, and more also. This may not be strict definition, but it contains a world of meaning. Pheidias in the highest sense had no rival.

Pheidias.—Before 1891 it might be said that every one of the works that made Pheidias famous had perished without leaving a trustworthy copy. Of statues made by his great contemporaries, Myron and Polykleitos, there existed well-authenticated copies. The Diskobolos and the Doryphoros, at least, had passed through the translation into marble so as to give a fair idea of the originals. But while it has always been surmised that the decorations of the Parthenon, particularly the pediments and the frieze, conveyed some idea of his style, as emanating from his mind, even if he had not touched them with his hand, of this there was no cer-

in welcher der für uns durch die Parthenon Sculpturen am eindringlichsten ausgesprochene künstlerische Sinn mächtig ist."

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 414; Von Mach, 461.

² Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, 223.

tainty. In 1891, however, a remarkable discovery of Furtwängler gave us a *copy* of his Lemnian Athena (Fig. 76), a copy much finer than those which represent the masterpieces of Myron and Polykleitos.

The story of the discovery is told in the first pages of the *Masterpieces*.¹ The head of a statue in Dresden that had been terribly "restored" with a helmet, on having the helmet removed was recognized as a replica of the well-known head on a bust at Bologna, let into a torso. A cast of the Bologna head and neck was found to fit exactly into the torso of another Dresden statue, after a head that did not belong to it had been removed, and lo! two practically identical statues appeared, except that the one with the Bologna head was the better. There could hardly be a doubt that the head was Pheidias. In fact, Puchstein had already pointed out "that the body of the statue comes nearest in style, of any known work, to the Parthenos of Pheidias." So much had already been known or inferred about the style of Pheidias that it required as much hardihood to deny as to accept the Pheidias features. Furtwängler was not slow to identify the newly discovered life-size statue with the Lemnian Athena which was set up on the Akropolis as a votive offering by a band of kleruchs emigrating to Lemnos in 450 B.C. or a year or two later. It would thus be about ten years older than the Parthenos. There is no doubt that it was of bronze, as the marble



FIG. 76. — Lemnian Athena.
(Dresden and Bologna.)

¹ *Masterpieces*, 7.

copies show, and of life-size. The mention of it in Pausanias' route seems to place it near the inside porch of the Propylaea and to the right. The goddess is bareheaded. The position of her arms indicates that she rested her lance, held in her raised left hand, on the ground; in her lowered right hand she probably held her helmet.¹ Thus she appears among her people, not as the fierce, fighting goddess, but as gentle, affable, and blessing them in their going out. Very different is she from the fierce, giant-slaying Athena in the gable of the old Athena Temple. She chooses to charm and please. Lucian describes her as the undoubted masterpiece of Pheidias, and borrows from her for his ideal beauty "the outline of her face, the delicacy of her cheeks, and the fine proportions of her nose."² It is a maiden and youthful goddess who is here represented. Furtwängler declares that "the *eximia pulchritudo* of the Lemnia of Pheidias is possessed in a very high degree by the head which belongs to the statue acknowledged as Pheidian." He also adds that "the head was formerly supposed to be male, and a right instinct underlay this wrong interpretation; for there is in the head a dash of boyishness combined with feminine charm. The woman in her is not yet awake." If we had a good copy of Pheidias' Amazon, we should probably find it also exhibiting some of this charm.

Of the Athena Parthenos, which stood in the Parthenon, we have a full description by Pausanias.³ There are also several replicas.⁴ The earliest, perhaps, of the extant copies is the Lenormant statuette⁵ found near the Pnyx, slightly over a foot and a half high. Although poorly wrought and unfinished, it gives several features

¹ With this attitude the stump of the arm is in perfect accord. Several gems of the Augustan period reproduce the upper part of the statue and show the helmet in the field. See Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. xxxviii, 34-38, and xxxix, 32.

² *Imagines*, 6.

³ Paus. I. 24. 7.

⁴ In addition to the copies collected by Schreiber in *Die Athena Parthenos des Pheidias*, 1883, another copy, from Patras, is published by Cecil Smith, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 3 (1896-1897), 121, Pl. 9.

⁵ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 38; Von Mach, 98.

of the great original not elsewhere presented. The dress, including the aegis and helmet, is much slighted. A statuette of this size could not possibly give all the details of the great chryselephantine original, nearly forty feet high. Its chief merit is that it represents the combat of Greeks and Amazons on the shield, and the birth of Pandora on the base.¹ Both these representations are omitted in the Varvakeion statuette ² (Fig. 77) found in 1880. This is twice as large as the Lenormant figure, and carefully carved and polished. But, being a copy of Roman times, it lacks the freshness of the probably earlier unfinished copy. While it omits the two scenes of the Lenormant figure, it has features of the original which the latter does not present. The face is indifferent and leaves the spectator cold, but the helmet is most elaborate. On its top is a Sphinx between two Pegasoi, all three supporting a triple crest; on either side are cheek guards, turned up.³ From various copies we may be sure that the helmet was heavily loaded with ornamentation. We can hardly doubt that on the colossal original all the orna-



FIG. 77.—Athena Parthenos.
(Athens, National Museum.)

¹ We should hardly know the subject were it not given by Pausanias.

² Named from a school in Athens near which it was found.

³ A helmet on a gem of Aspasia in the Vienna Museum (Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Arch.*, 408, Fig. 336) has besides all this a row of horses galloping out of the head just above the forehead; and the same feature appears on the polychrome marble head (Kauffman) in the Berlin Museum (*Antike Denkmäler*, i. Pl. 3). Certain gold medallions from the Crimea (Fowler and Wheeler, 350, Fig. 265) show other details, an owl, for instance, perched on one of the cheek-pieces.

mentation which the small copies show, and more also, was present. High up in the rather dark cella beaten gold would reflect a radiance from the light that came in through the door.¹ Over the breast of the goddess was the aegis in the form of a collar. In her right hand she held a Nike moving at a right angle to the goddess, who thus appears to be passing victory along to her friends. It has been maintained that the column supporting her right hand was not present in the original. But since the Nike was over six feet high and largely of gold it probably needed the support.

The shield of Athena, which in the Varvakeion copy is plain, shows in the Lenormant copy an indifferent representation of the Amazon battle; but there is preserved the greater part of another, called the Strangford shield,² on which the figures in relief are much clearer. Here a bald old man nearly naked is raising an ax or a great hammer with both hands, while a younger man, with a helmet and other defensive armour, has his arm thrown back for delivering a blow, in such a way as to conceal his face. As early as the time of Plutarch³ the story arose that the old man was Pheidias and the young man Perikles. This audacity or blasphemy, as it was called, was said to be one cause of Pheidias' arrest and imprisonment. The story may be paralleled by similar stories that spring up about other artists. In the belly of both shields of the small copies appears a serpent which is supposed to represent the earth-born Erichthonios, the guardian of the Akropolis. Neither shield contains on the inside the gigantomachy. Nor does the battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths on the soles of the shoes appear in any copy. But the gorgoneion, used as a boss for the shield, is reproduced on the Strangford shield and on the otherwise plain surface of the shield of the Varvakeion figure.

¹ Few, if any, now claim that there was an opening in the roof of Greek temples. The temple at Bassai was an exception; so also the Olympieion, a Roman work of Hadrian's time.

² Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Pl. xv. 34.

³ *Perikles*, 31. Plutarch, however, says the old man was hurling a stone.

There is one marked difference in dress between the earlier Lemnia and the later Parthenos. In the former the garment is shorter, reaching only a little below the ankles, while that of the Parthenos trails. That of the so-called Mourning Athena (Fig. 91) is still shorter, not covering the ankles.

In the Athena Parthenos, Pheidias not only aimed to represent the highest conception of the divine being who was supposed to be shaping the life of Athens, but also, probably, to set forth in bodily form the essence of Athenian life in the brilliant fifth century before its downfall. The time was singularly auspicious. The Persian had been driven back. Athens was acknowledged to represent the mind of Greece, and half of it was tributary to her. Athens could afford to lavish immense sums on this one figure, and did so, although there were those who cried out against it. In 438 B.C., or shortly afterwards, it was completed and housed in the splendid Parthenon. It was not long, however, before the evil days of the Peloponnesian War came on, and Athena was despoiled of her golden garments little by little with the hope, at first, of restoring them. Though often repaired and ever losing more and more of its first magnificence, the statue was still admired by Pausanias in the second century A.D. No one knows when it finally disappeared. It probably fell gradually to pieces without needing Christian iconoclasm to complete its ruin.

It has seemed to some not unreasonable to regard the costly material as having contributed a large share of the fame of this statue. Others felt that only in bronze could the finest technique show itself, when the work comes "to the nail." But the consensus of antiquity was against this view, and the chryselephantine colossus was no doubt equal to its fame.

Besides the Lemnia, which was of life-size, there was also a colossal bronze statue of Athena in the open air on the Akropolis. At a time much later than its origin it was called the Promachos, "the champion." It was one of the most conspicuous objects on the Akropolis. A coin on which the Parthenon does not appear makes it more prominent than the Propylaea and the Erechtheion. Athena

seems to be facing the Propylaea but turning strongly to the right, as if to look over the north wall down upon the city. Thus we see why Alaric and his Goths could be frightened at the sight of this armed goddess looking down.¹ Pausanias says that those sailing in from Sounion saw her helmet and the gilded point of her bronze spear,² although Hymettos shuts out the view of the Akropolis until one is nearly off Phaleron.

Besides various statuettes, the Torso Medici³ in the École de Beaux-Arts in Paris, long ago recognized as Pheidian, has also been thought to have affinities with both the Lemnia and the Parthenos. With absolutely undeveloped breasts, it has splendid drapery. The left supporting leg is encased in the drapery, which is columnar in its character. The free right leg is in contrast thrown out, showing the finer folds of the linen chiton. Especially fine is the triangular bit between the right foot and the stiff perpendicular folds of the peplos. It is this Medici torso which Furtwängler has selected as representing the colossal Promachos. There is a coin of Athens representing probably the Promachos with the spear diverging sharply from her body.⁴ This coin, however, conveys little information about the style of the original, and there must always be some doubt as to the Medici torso being a correct copy of the Promachos. Furtwängler, with perhaps too great confidence in inadequate copies, regards this Promachos as later than the Parthenos, and assigns it to an elder Praxiteles, "named as the artist by a tradition which was probably derived from the actual inscription on the statue." He denies that the figures carved by Mys after designs by Parrhasios were put upon the shield as an afterthought because it looked too plain. He puts the Promachos at 440 B.C., when Parrhasios could, he thinks, be already working; and Mys fits the date of Parrhasios. All this is possible; but there is no convincing proof that the figures were not carved later, as is usually supposed. The great

¹ Zosimos, *Historia Nova*, 5. 6. 2.

² Paus. I. 28. 2.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 171; Von Mach, 101.

⁴ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numis. Com. on Pausanias*, Pl. Z, 1.

question is, what did Pheidias do before he made the Lemnia in 450 B.C., or a little later? What reason is there for ascribing to him a career of less than twenty years? Furtwängler seems to reject the existence of a "Kimonian Pheidias." But Pheidias must have already had a reputation when he made the Lemnia. It is indeed not improbable that he was born at about the beginning of the fifth century, so as to appear on the shield of the Parthenos as a bald old man. Why deny him a long career? The statement that one of his early works was a chryselephantine statue of Athena at Pellene in Achaea, an out-of-the-way place, does not seem like fiction. Whether Kimon, with so much fighting on his hands, ever actively supported Pheidias in his early work is quite doubtful. But the statement that Pheidias worked at Delphi with funds from Athens and made a bronze group representing Miltiades between Athena and Apollo, with the eponymous heroes of the Athenian tribes standing near, has nothing improbable in it. If one wishes to picture this group, he may think of it as something like the old Aeginetan and Argive groups. Pheidias doubtless ripened gradually with time. What else could we expect? It is not altogether improbable that he learned either directly from Hagelaïdas or through the medium of the Attic Hegias. But we cannot make a very definite picture from such surmises.

In the Lemnia and the Parthenos we seemed to have two fixed points. The Olympian Zeus furnishes us another. It is true this has been made to seem anything but fixed. Loeschcke,¹ whom Collignon follows, puts the Olympian Zeus before the Parthenos, influenced by the consideration that the temple of Olympian Zeus being finished in 456 B.C. could not have remained twenty years empty, waiting for a cultus statue. There is here a difficulty. Would Sparta or Elis, the controlling powers in the Peloponnesos, which had just shut out Athens and Argos from the dedication ceremonies, have immediately sent to Athens for the Athenian sculptor, Pheidias, to put the crowning glory upon the temple,

¹ *Phidias' Tod und die Chronologie des olympischen Zeus.*

if he were a young man, comparatively unknown, with no great career back of him? The sculptor who made the Panhellenic Olympian Zeus, one of the Seven Wonders of the world, must have gone to Olympia with his honours thick upon him, and called, as it were, by acclamation. And where could he have got his honours except from his Athena Parthenos?

What Pheidias did at Olympia made a lasting impression; and even his descendants continued to hold there an honourable office. He probably returned to Athens after completing his great work in five years with the aid of artists already trained by him. He went back, we may believe, to Athens to continue his work, trusting in his high-minded patron. But jealousy and hatred of Perikles, which could best reach him through his favourite artist, wrought the ruin of the greatest sculptor of the world, and branded Athens with shame.

Michaelis, in *A Century of Archaeological Discoveries*, revives and discusses the problem anew¹:—

“According to a twofold tradition Pheidias either died in prison (438) after the Parthenon had been completed, or migrated to Elis to make the chryselephantine statue for the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Until recently the latter version was accepted, and the duration of the building extended. Certain finds, however, indicated definitely that the building must have been finished by the year 456. Thereupon Loeschcke urged the less-accredited theory: if Pheidias died in 438, he could only have worked at Olympia before the building of the Parthenon, 447–438; his activity there would then naturally follow the completion of the temple, and fall in the fifties. This brilliant conjecture was widely accepted, although serious difficulties were raised, partly owing to the dubious source of the tradition, and partly in regard to the legal proceedings. It was maintained that the masterpiece of Pheidias was probably made later for the temple, to take the place of a smaller and older statue. One may to-day still say of this question: *grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est*: although

¹ Page 129 of Miss Kahnweiler's translation.

the scales are descending more and more to the older and more accredited tradition."

The Olympian Zeus was larger in its proportions than the Parthenos. The temple was more massive than the Parthenon; and yet the seated Zeus reached so high that it seemed as if, in case he should rise from his throne, he would raise the roof.¹ The throne on which he sat was a wonder, adorned as it was with representations of many of the most important figures in Greek mythology. A screen, which shut out the stout pillar that formed the support of the seat, filled the spaces between the legs. In front this screen was simply painted blue to form a fitting background to the golden drapery of the god; but the other three panels contained each six figures painted by Panainos, probably Pheidias' brother. On the front of Zeus' footstool was represented Theseus fighting Amazons. On the front of the pedestal of the throne was a relief in gold, representing Aphrodite rising from the waves and received by Eros and Peitho. As on the east pediment of the Parthenon, the scene was closed at the ends by Helios and Selene, and between them and the central group there were three pairs of divinities on either side. It must have been a splendid composition. It had, as is seen by traces of the pedestal, a front of over twenty feet.

But if the throne was glorious, much more so must have been the god who sat upon it. Quintilian says of it *Adjecisse aliquid etiam receptae religioni videtur*. Dion Chrysostomos said that "the man most depressed forgot all his ills in looking at the statue, so much light and beauty had Pheidias put into it."² From these and many other eulogies one may gather that Pheidias put benevolence into the face, as well as awe and majesty, and made men realize that "God's in his heaven, all's right with the world."

This statue, like the Parthenos, must have gradually fallen to pieces. It needed repairs in the second century B.C. when Damophon of Messene was called in for the purpose. Unfortunately we

¹ Strabo, 8. 353. It has been generally estimated at about eight times life size.

² Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 705-713.

have no adequate replicas. The Zeus of Otricoli,¹ which was made in Roman times, was long thought to be a copy of the head, but a Greek copy, probably made in the fourth century B.C., which is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,² shows that the Otricoli head is at best only a very distant reflection of the Zeus of Pheidias.

The spirit of Pheidias did not cease to be operative at his death. We find it not only in the decoration of the Parthenon, but continuing afterward in much humbler art. Such a man lives in his works after death. Schools of art bow down before the genius which can create; and Pheidias was beyond all question the greatest creator in art that the world has ever seen.

THE PARTHENON SCULPTURES

While Pheidias was making the Athena Parthenos, he had under him a band of sculptors, probably of various training, and with names not transmitted to us, who wrought the decorations of the splendid temple in which the statue was to be housed. Now that the statue has perished, and left not a rack behind, the mere sculptured decorations of the temple, which were barely mentioned by those who saw them, have come to an honour which no man of the fifth century B.C., or even of the time of Pausanias, ever thought of ascribing to them. They are the most eloquent witnesses of the brilliant Age of Perikles, when, not only in art, but in literature also, Athens had no rival. The great tragic poets, Sophokles and Euripides, were suns around whom lesser lights were grouped. Herodotos, too, was there. Perikles with his powerful fleet controlled the sea and collected tribute from a great confederacy. Under his sway, which he maintained by the power of his personality, Athens became even politically the chief city in Greece. The other Greek cities, including Sparta, fell into the second rank. There were, to be sure, those even in Athens who murmured against Perikles for decking out the city like a gaudy courtesan; but they were a despised minority. The glory of Athens seemed almost to justify

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 130; Von Mach, 487.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, Nos. 572 and 573.

the suppression of smaller states. Perikles was the heart and soul of it all. For his plan of beautifying the Akropolis he is said to have selected as his right-hand man, Pheidias, who was able to inspire and train a host of sculptors who proved by their works that they also had the divine afflatus.

Perikles found already existing the stylobate of a temple antedating the Persian War.¹ The architects, Iktinos and Kallikrates, broadened this by about eight feet, and left about fifteen feet of its length unused. On this was built a temple that was in every way worthy of the statue which was placed in it, was considerably larger than the Peisistratean temple, and was made of Pentelic marble.² Over two thirds of the building, *i.e.* of the closed part, was the abode of the goddess. In the rear of this was a square chamber which appears to have been first called the Parthenon,³ from the maidens who served the maiden goddess in the weaving of her robe and in other ways. Only by an extension of this appellation did the whole building receive the name by which it is now known. These two parts were separated by a wall with no doors, and each had its own portico of six columns. A narrow band of sculpture in low relief, three feet and four inches wide, went all the way around this enclosed part at the top, having a length of about 520 feet, and containing over 300 figures. This is the famous Parthenon frieze, a new feature in Doric temples. Around this cella, which with the addition of a roof would have made a building in itself, was placed, at an interval of about eight feet, a line of columns, forty-six in number, eight at each end, supporting the entablature and the roof.

¹ Dörpfeld (*Ath. Mitt.* 27 (1902), 379) has recanted his former view that this unfinished temple was begun after the Persian War, and substantially agrees with Penrose. Penrose, however, dated it far back into the sixth century, while Dörpfeld assigns it to about 510 B.C., when the democracy was led by Kleisthenes.

² The tiles were made of Parian marble which, being more transparent than other marbles, let some light into the building.

³ It was also used as a store-chamber for various relics and treasures of which inventories are given. *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, I, 300-311.

Metopes. — This entablature had a Doric frieze of metopes and triglyphs about four feet high. It is a notable exception that the metopes, ninety-two in number, are *all* sculptured. Above this, at the ends, were the gables, which afforded the finest field for ornamentation. The frieze was in low relief, the metopes in high relief, sometimes almost detached from the background, and the gable figures in the round. No other Greek temple had all these kinds of ornamentation.

The metopes were chronologically the first of the sculptures. They had to be in place before the horizontal cornice and the roof. As soon as they



FIG. 78. — Lapith and Centaur fighting.
(Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

were carved they were slid down into the perpendicular grooves in the triglyph blocks to the right and left, and the horizontal cornice was placed over them. There is great unevenness in their style; the result, doubtless, of a various training on the part of the workmen. Here, and here only, on the Parthenon do we feel the absence of one controlling mind. Some figures are positively archaic,

and seem a generation older than others. It is probable, however, that the workmen improved as the work went on. By accident the best-preserved metopes, sixteen in number, now in the British Museum, represent the hackneyed theme of a struggle between a Lapith and Centaur. The Choiseul-Gouffier metope in the Louvre is damaged by restoration. One on the north side and one on the south (well preserved) are *in situ*. Another is in the Akropolis Museum (Fig. 78). But considering the limitations of the theme, it is striking that so much variety has been introduced. There is

a series, which we have to construct for ourselves, in which the Lapith is increasingly victorious, and the Centaur at last receives the death thrust in his human back.¹ In another series it is the Centaur who, starting from a drawn battle, presses the Lapith harder and harder until his prostrate form is trampled by the Centaur's hoofs.² There is every intermediate stage.³ Some of the metopes show hard, dry, and spare forms, reminding one of Kritios and Nesiotes. Others recall Myron. From these we go on to examples of splendid physique outlined against flowing drapery, as in No. 27. Variety is also obtained by shifting the antagonists' positions in the fight. Women are being carried off by brutal Centaurs. Another Centaur has the head of a philosopher. Care is taken that no absolute ugliness should be portrayed. For example, there is no case of introducing a dead Centaur, which would be an offence to the eye.⁴ Care was also taken to bring the human part of the Centaur into front view. One is occasionally reminded of the cause of all the trouble by the introduction of wine jars, over which one Lapith is falling backwards. To get an adequate idea of the effect of the whole, one must remember that the figures themselves were painted. Light green, perhaps originally blue, has been seen on some of the figures, while the background was red. This field, bordered right and left by dark blue triglyphs, made a striking case of polychromy on Pentelic marble.

Only on the south side have the metopes been at all well preserved. Those on the other sides appear to have been deliberately destroyed with hammers. We should hardly know what they represented were it not for the help of the drawings long supposed to be from the hand of Carrey, but now known to be the work of

¹ No. 27. The numbers here given are from Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*.

² No. 28.

³ Nos. 6, 26, 31, 32 show the pair in equilibrium. No. 7 shows the Centaur receiving a decisive check. In No. 2 the Centaur is being throttled, bellowing out his rage. Nos. 10, 12, 29 represent Centaurs attacking Lapith women.

⁴ On the frieze at Bassai this was attempted.

an unknown Flemish draftsman, who accompanied Nointel, the ambassador of Louis XIV on his expedition in 1674. This artist appears to have spent only eighteen days on the Akropolis, and to have succeeded in that short time in making twenty-one drawings, which are of incalculable value.¹ The front contained a gigantomachy in which several of the gods may be made out. Athena is, of course, there. But the battle with the giants does not lend itself so well to single combats as the centauromachy. The west end contains duels between an Amazon and a Greek.² The north side appears to have contained, among other subjects, scenes from the Trojan War. The series is interrupted by about a dozen Centaur and Lapith groups, while in the middle of the south side we see, from the anonymous draftsman, nine metopes with scenes probably from Attic legends³ breaking the long succession of Centaur and Lapith metopes. The monotony of thirty-two such groups in one long line must have been felt to be intolerable. There is no really adequate explanation of the fact that the metopes on the south side were spared, unless it be that that side, being close to the south wall, was not much frequented, and was, therefore, not offensive to Christians or Turks.

Gable Groups of the Parthenon. — The most conspicuous adornments of temples were always the gable groups. On the Parthenon the gables, over ninety feet long, had in the middle a height of eleven feet. There was room for colossal figures not only in the middle, but also at the ends, where seated and reclining persons were introduced. These have come down to us badly mutilated. Every complete head but one is lost and the face of that one has suffered abrasion. The destruction commenced on a large scale as early as the fifth century A.D., when the Parthenon was converted into a church with the name *Agia Sophia*. Then it was that the interior was reconstructed, and the main entrance, as be-

¹ See H. Omont, *Athènes au xviii^e Siècle*, Martin L. D'Ooge, *The Acropolis of Athens*, 341, note 219.

² Ebersole, *A.J.A.* 3 (1899), 409.

³ Pernice, *Jahrbuch*, 10 (1895), 93.

came a church, placed at the west end.¹ The cross wall was pierced with doors. Light was introduced into the apse at the east end by making a large aperture in the middle of the gable. In this process the central group of probably eleven figures was removed more than a thousand years before the visit of the anonymous draftsman. We should have had no idea of the subject had not Pausanias mentioned that "it had to do with the birth of Athena."

The west gable remained practically intact until 1687, although Poseidon's chariot had already disappeared.² In that year the Turkish powder magazine inside the Parthenon was exploded by a well-directed bomb from a mortar managed by a German lieutenant in the Venetian service. After remaining practically intact for over twenty-one centuries it has been a ruin for slightly over two centuries. So modern is the loss!

Directly after the cannonade, which resulted in a temporary occupation of Athens, the Venetian commander, Morosini, tried to take down and carry off the quadriga of Athena, but it fell and was broken into small bits.³ In the time of the artist before mentioned ten heads still survived on the figures of the west gable, and several on the figures of the east gable, including two of the "Moirai."⁴ From the beauty of the bodies we can see the irreparable loss sustained in the disappearance of the heads.

East Gable. — We are not left entirely in the dark as to the central figures of the east gable. On a puteal, or well-curb, in Madrid,⁵ there is a reproduction of the scene, which makes it quite clear that Athena was not represented in the act of springing from the head of Zeus, as was the case on black-figured vases. The motif *after* the birth was chosen. Any attempt to represent the

¹ Spon and Wheler in 1676, taking the west end for the original front, made, or tried to make, the gable figures represent the birth of Athena.

² See the sketch of the anonymous draftsman on p. 182.

³ A Venetian officer accompanying the expedition wrote in a letter, 'e si ruppero non solo, ma si disfecero in polvere' (It was not merely broken, it was ground to powder).

⁴ The group at the right, next to the chariot on that side.

⁵ Frazer's *Pausanias*, 2, 309, Fig. 26.

actual birth must have been more or less grotesque.¹ The moment before the birth would have left out the chief personage in the scene. On the puteal Zeus is seated turned towards the right. In front of him and of equal size is Athena, full armed, rushing away from him, but with her face turned to the front, while Nike, a diminutive figure, hovers aloft, in the act of placing a wreath on Athena's



FIG. 79.—So-called Theseus. (British Museum.)

head. Hephaistos, behind Zeus, holding a double-edged ax, is starting back at the sight of the wondrous birth.² Confining ourselves to the extant figures, and beginning with the left-hand corner, we see Helios with his four horses rising from the sea, rushing upon the scene, the abode of the gods, and ushering in the great day of Athena's birth. It takes all the strength of his powerful arms to restrain his fiery steeds. Directly in front of them reclines a powerful figure (Fig. 79) in godlike ease on a rock, covered with the skin of an animal and over that a cloth. Sauer has shown that this figure was turned almost to the front, so that the left elbow touched the gable wall. It has long been called

¹ Kekulé, *Jahrb.* 5 (1890), 186, Ueber die Darstellung der Erschaffung der Eva, shows how art instinctively shunned representing the moment of birth.

² Sauer's study (*Ath. Mitt.* 16 (1891), 59, Pl. 3,) of the marks and beddings of the figures has revealed the fact that Zeus and Athena with Nike between them, fastened aloft to the background of the gable, formed the central group. Hephaistos was not, as on the puteal, behind Zeus, but to the right of Athena. Behind Zeus, matching Hephaistos, was probably Apollo.

"Theseus," and since other names as Olympos, Dionysos, and Kephalos are not convincing, we may keep the time-honoured name, although it be incorrect. It is the only figure in either gable with a head, battered, indeed, but godlike.

Next, to the right, are two seated female figures beautifully draped, long called Demeter and Kore.¹ The former, seated on a rather low structure, is more matronly, and the other reclines upon her. Since at the other end of the gable we seem to be dealing with cosmic powers, it may be well to give these two figures the name Horai. The younger stretches her raised left arm



FIG. 80.—Group of so-called Three Sisters. (British Museum.)

in the direction of the ascending line of the gable towards a figure rushing towards her from the centre. Since she shows maidenly proportions, she has been thought to be Iris, the messenger who comes to convey to those more remote the news of the great event taking place at the centre. These three figures wear the woollen Doric peplos, which on Iris is swept backward by her swift flight.

Eleven figures at the centre are supposed to be lost. We may assume that they were the best, because among them were the

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 188.

great Olympian gods. The figures on the puteal are, of course, only feeble echoes of the originals. Beyond this gap are three female figures (Fig. 80) which the world can never cease to admire. One wonders what heads could be adequate to such splendid bodies. The first of the adorable three sits upon a rather high seat and is turned slightly away from the others and toward the glories of the central scene. She seems in the act of rising to go toward it. Of the other two the one nearer the centre is seated on a chair and supports the next one, who is reclining in godlike ease on a long couch. Of her it may be said that her clinging drapery of thin and almost veil-like texture is meant to reveal rather than conceal the glorious form within. The garment has slipped down from her right shoulder with telling effect. These immortal women are elevated far above the fine creations of the fourth century. It is here that we feel that Pheidias, for it is impossible to ascribe these three figures to a lesser sculptor than he, simply incorporated in marble the godlike forms that he saw in a vision. There is no certainty as to their names. From the rippling nature of the drapery it has been proposed to call the reclining figure "Thalassa, resting on the lap of Ge." But since the three figures form a group, it is better to call them the Moirai, cosmic powers. The maker of the Madrid puteal brought in the three Moirai with the regular attributes of Klotho, Lachesis, and Atropos. He probably adapted them from these Parthenon figures, which perhaps bore the same attributes.

A draped figure in the Berlin Museum in the exquisite folds of the garment and dignity of posture is so exceedingly like this reclining Moira that we must with Kekulé¹ admit that it came from the same studio as the figures of the pediment. The same nobility wraps it around. It is not improbably an Aphrodite Ourania, and an original.

Continuing, beyond this group is another quadriga with a female driver, whose torso is preserved. Sauer has discovered

¹ *Jahrbuch (Anzeiger)* (1893), 74.

traces of four horses. One of the heads is perfectly preserved (Fig. 81). It stretched outward and downward over the horizontal cornice with wide-open mouth. Goethe admired this head, which he called that of the *Ur-Pferd*. The driver of the chariot should perhaps be called Nyx, since in the fifth century B.C. Selene was usually represented on horseback. The day of Athena's birth was a day of the gods, bounded by morning and evening.

In this gable, as in the western, the central figure, which had such prominence at Aegina and Olympia, is abandoned. The stereotyped responson of



FIG. 81.—Horse's Head from East Gable of the Parthenon. (British Museum.)

figures in opposite halves of the gable is also designedly broken up. "Theseus" and the two Horai balance in a way the three Moirai. But "Theseus," a single male figure, is made really to balance the two outermost Moirai, while the other Moira is left to balance the two Horai of the left side. A new method has come in, amounting to a revolution. In surveying the gables of Olympia and Aegina the eye glides rapidly up one slope and down the other, without delay, feeling the sameness of both sides. But the moment one tries to do this in the Parthenon gable one receives a check. We proceed from the corner to the centre by a series of wave-like advances. We are compelled to stop and reflect. Here, too, the master mind of Pheidias is felt. It is, of course, impossible that Pheidias with his numerous other duties could have carved all the gable figures; but that he inspired them, made the sketches perhaps, is quite likely. The British Museum has no choicer treasures than these sculptures



FIG. 82. — West Gable of the Parthenon. (Sketch made in 1674.)

from the east gable, left from the wreck of the once glorious whole.

West Gable. — The west gable (Fig. 82) according to custom presented a less exalted theme than the other; but in the early drawings it appears to be much better preserved. It is clear that the centre was occupied by Athena and Poseidon, with their chariots, drivers, and attendants. Athena had Nike as charioteer; Poseidon had Amphitrite. Beside the chariots were Hermes, on the side of Athena, and Iris, on the side of Poseidon. The god and goddess have arrived at the same moment to take possession of Athens. Each appears to recoil slightly, perhaps not so much from enmity as in wonder at the sight of the other's token of possession. Athena brought the gift of the olive tree, which was a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί*; Poseidon smote the Akropolis rock with his trident and produced a salt spring, a useless miracle.¹ He was provided with a habitation in the Erechtheion, but Athena was in control of the city. It was a case of the triumph of mind over physical force.

¹ On a vase from Kertch, in the Crimea, Poseidon appears attacking the olive tree. *J.H.S.* 3 (1882), 245. Dionysos also rushes on the scene as if to join in a fight. Nike hovering in the boughs of an olive tree crowns Athena, which is here a distinct affront to Poseidon. On coins of Athens we seem to see the same antagonism. A group of Athena and Poseidon on the north side of the Parthenon may have been responsible for the introduction of this hostile feature.

The interpretation of the minor figures to the right and left varies widely. The two corner figures, being interpreted as Ilissos, on the south end, and Kephissos, on the north, on account, forsooth, of the liquid flow of their forms, led to the interpretation of the other figures as parts of a physical geography map of Attika. A more rational interpretation seems to be that of Furtwängler,¹ who finds on the left Kekrops and his family, closely associated with Athena, and on the right Erechtheus and his family. This is particularly clear in the case of Erechtheus, inasmuch as Erechtheus was only an epithet of Poseidon or his double. Toward the left end of the gable we have Kekrops leaning against his favourite daughter, Pandrosos, who throws her arm around him, the only group still remaining on either gable. Kekrops is identified by the huge coil of a serpent not attached to him but serving as a sort of cushion.² On the other side behind Poseidon's chariot appears a woman with two small children, who may be interpreted as Oreithyia and her sons Kalais and Zetes. It may not be possible to identify every figure with certainty. The corner figures will hardly retain their current names by virtue of their liquidity.

It is reasonably certain that the powerful torso sometimes identified with Hephaistos of the east gable is really Poseidon of the west gable.³ The beautiful Laborde head⁴ may have had its place in one or the other of the gables, probably in the western, since it was brought to Venice by Morosini's secretary, San Gallo. It is possibly the head of Nike, Athena's charioteer. Unfortunately the restoration of nose and chin has dulled the original charm of the face.

¹ *Masterpieces*, 458.

² The pair long bore the sobriquet of Hadrian and Sabina. The other two daughters, Aglauros and Herse, may be identified with some probability in the early drawing.

³ A large piece lacking from the breast in the British Museum has recently been found in Athens and attached to the cast sent to Athens from the British Museum.

⁴ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 362.

The Frieze. — The famous Parthenon frieze, sculptured in low relief, had a length of about 520 feet. On this band, only $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, were carved 358 human figures besides masses of horses and animals for sacrifice. This was a representation of the famous Panathenaic procession in which every four years Athens made a great parade of her beauty and her chivalry, all in honour of Athena.

At first sight this masterpiece seems placed where it could hardly be seen. If the spectator wished an uninterrupted view of it, he must come inside the colonnade; then he had to look up at it from a point not more than 8 feet away from the cella wall, and 33 feet below it. If one had been obliged to view the metopes at a like angle, they would have appeared like a mass of protruding knobs. Even for this low relief, although there was not so much interference of one part with another, the more favourable view was secured from outside the colonnade, where, if one viewed the procession walking backward, it would seem to him to be moving forward. In one point the lighting was admirably adapted to low relief. The architrave came down about 5 feet below the lower edge of the frieze, which made the light come from below, powerfully reinforced by reflected light from the marble pavement. There were no shadows below the sharp edges and projections. The lower edges of the figures were carefully modelled, while the upper contours sloped gently into the background or were cut in sharply as occasion demanded. Whatever shadows the heads cast caused no disturbance. The relief was distinct because one part of the surface did not get into another part's way. While the face of this relief generally leans gently forward toward the spectator, the relief elevation even at the top is not more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches from the background. Within this limit as to depth, six horses and riders are presented, overlapping one another in close array in a space of perhaps 10 feet. The contour of the front horse and rider is sharply cut, but behind it the surface slopes quickly into the background, so that another figure behind has also a sharp outline; and when we do not

scrutinize too closely, each member of the group of six seems to have body.

The procession is represented on the Parthenon virtually in duplicate ; in spite of certain variations the north frieze and the south are to be looked at as two sides of the same procession, the whole breadth of the Parthenon being eliminated. On the east front we see two similar processions coming around each corner and converging on a central group. On the west end a schematic arrangement was avoided. A less skilful artist might have made



FIG. 83.— Parthenon Frieze, West End. (*In situ.*)

the symmetry complete by having the procession start from the centre and proceed to the right and left ; but that would have made *two* processions. And when the actual procession, having debouched from the Propylaea, caught sight of its miniature double dividing, it would have felt a disturbing effect.

This was avoided by giving up the whole west end to preparation, which, however, actually took place in the city. Although the movement is in general to the left, giving the impression that the cavalcade on the north side is being reinforced, there is still

trouble and confusion. Near the right end a horse is rearing and trying to go around the south corner, a hint that something is happening on the south side. At the very end one of the marshals who are distributed throughout the procession is adjusting his mantle. A little farther to the north there is trouble with another horse with an abnormally long neck (Fig. 83), which did not appear so when seen from below. He is restive, and two men seem to be having an altercation over him. The dismounted rider seems angry.



FIG. 84. — Horse and Man on West Frieze of the Parthenon. (*In situ.*)

A boy¹ behind seems, like the marshal, to be pointing to something wrong with the horse. Then come for the first time mounted men galloping by couples. Near the middle there is another stoppage. An angry old man whose garment flutters in the breeze is beating his horse (Fig. 84).² After still another altercation there

¹ This boy is one of several cases where the heads do not come up to the level of the other heads. This is one of the few exceptions to the law of isokepthaly by which all the heads, whether of seated or standing or mounted figures, are on the same level. The principle avoids vacant spaces.

² By exception this horse and rider fill a whole slab. The rider's head was broken off in the earthquake of 1894. He was one of the finest figures on the whole frieze.

is alternate galloping and stopping, looking backward, and adjusting harness once present in bronze. The rider who has reached the extreme left turns to see how the procession is coming on, and is probably adjusting a wreath. A marshal, cut on the end of a block that has its long side facing north, seems to be gesticulating to the serried ranks around the corner.

There is endless variety in dress: here a fine plumed helmet and cuirass, here a cap with a leather flap behind, here a broad-brimmed hat. Most riders are bareheaded, perhaps having garlands in bronze. Shoes, which two have stopped to tie, are seen along with top-boots with flaps hanging down. Old and young are mingled together. Many motives appearing here for the first time are repeated in later sculpture, *e.g.* the sandal-binder "Jason"¹ and the horse and man of Monte Cavallo.² The beauty of some of these youthful riders, especially those with faces bent downward, has a touch of pathos. The splendid horses, of which the best is the one being beaten by his master, furnished the text for Victor Cherbuliez' *Le Cheval de Phidias*.³

When the procession is fairly started, we see the Knights, of whom Athens was so proud, filling over half the long sides; and still more space is taken up by chariots, carrying sometimes, besides a driver, an *apobates*, who jumped off the chariot and then remounted it in its swift flight. Here, also, is grace and beauty, wherever the preservation allows it to be seen. In front of the chariots on either side is a group of old men, called *thallophoroi*, "palm-bearers," winners in a contest of manliness and dignity, "general excellence," we might say. Seven of the group from the north side are fairly well preserved. The corresponding group on

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 67; Von Mach, 238 a.

² Reinach, *Répertoire*, i. 485, 4 and 5; Von Mach, 129.

³ This west frieze is practically all that remains on the Parthenon. A staging erected for the purpose of replacing poor architrave blocks afforded, 1898-1902, an opportunity to study these figures at close range. For the rest we must turn to the British Museum. The most complete illustrations are given by Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, and Murray, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*.

the south side depends for its heads on our unknown draftsman, who makes some of these prize men appear like dignified Church elders and others like sots. He at least makes it sure that we are dealing with male figures.¹

From this point to the end of the long sides a slight variety is introduced. On the south are cows led and driven to the sacrifice, some of them as splendid in their way as the horses. On the north side there appear musicians, bearers of platters and heavy jars,² a few sheep and very few cows, supposed to be tribute from the cities of the Athenian confederacy.

On turning the corners the processions become again symmetrical. Here are the modest and beautiful maidens of Athens "pacing with downward eyelids pure." Preceding these on either side is a group of men in whom we may perhaps recognize the archons, although the number does not tally with the number nine, or more probably the eponymous heroes of the ten Attic tribes. These figures, especially the foremost one on either side, turn their backs to the group of gods, on whom the procession seems to have converged. They would hardly take such nonchalant attitudes if the great gods were not conceived of as placed on an *arrière-plan*, perhaps inside the temple. The gods are separated into two groups of six each, with Iris and Eros added, the former as the attendant of Hera, the latter of Aphrodite. Some of the divinities are easily recognized. There is practical if not absolute agreement in regard to their names. Zeus was marked by his arm-chair and Athena as the maiden goddess.³ Perhaps the best naming is: on the right, Athena, Hephaistos, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite; on the left, Zeus, Hera, Ares, Demeter, Dionysos, Hermes.⁴ There is a striking resemblance in this group

¹ All this part was nearly annihilated by the great explosion of 1687.

² The weight of these jars, probably filled with oil, is so great that one stalwart youth has set down his jar to get a better hold.

³ There were probably many attributes now lost.

⁴ We can absolutely identify Zeus, Hera, and Hermes on the left, and Athena and Aphrodite on the right. The latter has unfortunately been lost.

to the seated divinities on the frieze of the Treasury of the Knidians (p. 98) at Delphi, which was considerably older.

Between the two groups of divinities and directly over the entrance into the temple, where we should expect the most important scene of all, is a group which is difficult to explain.

A bearded man¹ to the right, behind Athena's back, is passing a square and apparently thick cloth to a boy who reaches up to take it. Here, if anywhere on the frieze, is the famous peplos, woven and em-



FIG. 85. — Poseidon, Apollo, and Artemis from the Parthenon. (Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

broidered by selected maidens, being presented to Athena's priest to be transmitted to Athena herself.² If the priest is really *taking* it, the boy seems to be giving it an upward shove. Some have felt forced to regard the scene as showing the priest laying aside his himation to perform the sacrifice. With her back turned to the priest's back is a woman, probably the priestess of Athena, who is about to take a chair from a maiden who had it poised on her head. Another maiden brings a second chair. Are the actors in the solemn ritual going to sit like the gods, or have the maidens

The best-preserved slab (Fig. 85), containing Poseidon, Apollo, and Artemis, fell early, and was covered up and protected.

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 109.

² The fact that the peplos was actually brought to the ancient image of Athena in the Erechtheion need not trouble us. The intention of Pheidias and Perikles doubtless was to transfer this holy, time-honoured image into the Parthenon. But this was not done.

brought chairs that turn out to be supernumerary, the gods being now all seated? Furtwängler's explanation¹ seems reasonable. This scene also, he thinks, takes place in the interior of the temple. The extra chairs brought in the procession are not needed, although they do suggest that other gods *might* have come.

In the frieze we see none of the archaic features that appeared in the metopes. Here is absolute mastery of expression. In view of the almost total destruction of the gable figures we turn to these small figures for our knowledge of what Pheidias art could express. Pheidias must have been the creator of this multitude of figures, belonging to this world, and to the joyous age of it. If we were dependent on the frieze alone for our judgement of him, we should still put him at the head of all sculptors. The effect on the spectator is not unlike that produced by a glorious symphony. A pictorial element pervading it corroborates the statement that Pheidias was a painter before he became a sculptor.

OTHER ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURES OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

The diminutive temple 18 × 27 feet, officially called the Temple of Athena Nike, stood on the buttress in which the great southern wall of the Akropolis ends, until shortly before the Venetian bombardment. Wheler, who, with his companion Spon, in 1676 was allowed but a hasty visit to the Akropolis, noted in passing it, "the Architrave hath on it a basso relievo of little figures well cut."² When Chandler, more than a century later, saw no such temple he impugned Wheler's veracity. But Wheler was honest. Shortly after his visit the Turks broadened a wall that already ran from the Nike bastion to the Agrippa pedestal, in order to mount cannon upon it; and for this purpose they tore down the temple and used it with other material. After Greece had achieved its independence this wall was broken up, and in 1836

¹ *Masterpieces*, 427.

² The fact that Wheler placed the figures on the architrave shows the hasty and superficial character of his observations.

the temple was rebuilt on its old place, the very few pieces lacking being supplied. It is very doubtful whether the "small figures well cut" suffered or gained by this long burial. In the meantime the busy Elgin had pulled out of the face of the wall looking towards the Propylaea four blocks of the frieze, which are now in the British Museum. These were replaced on the temple by copies in terra cotta,¹ which look very sombre in contrast to the marble.

The relief band was only a foot and a half high. Not a head remains uninjured, and most heads are lacking altogether. Yet we still observe in these figures the grand style of the fifth century. On three sides a fierce battle is raging between Greeks and Persians, the latter often mounted and distinguished from Greeks by trousers. Several of them are dead or dying. There is one case of a charioteer, evidently a Greek, who has clearly been fighting on the Persian side, but is in the act of fleeing with his chariot around the northwest corner to reach the west end. On this whole west end we see a fierce infantry fight of Greeks against Greeks. While the relief has been interpreted as representing the Persian War in general, here we seem to see specifically the battle of Plataea. It was at Plataea that Greek met Greek in stubborn fight. The Boeotians, whom, according to Herodotos, only the Athenians dared to face, were also more dreaded antagonists than the Persians. Boeotian helmets on this end seem to corroborate the suggestion that Plataea was specifically in the mind of the sculptor. Accordingly the gorgeously dressed rider on the last block to the left on the south side, who is being dragged from his horse, has been interpreted as Masistios, the Persian cavalry commander, whose death was the turning point in the battle.²

¹ There were in all twelve blocks, four on each long side and two on each end. Two are lost; six are now on the temple. The front lacks only the end of the first block on the north side, which is lost. The south side is complete but battered. The rest are either lacking or replaced in terra cotta. One of the long slabs on the south side may belong to the north side.

² Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, 446.

On the front side is an assembly of gods, in whose presence the battle is joined. It is quite clear that Athena is at the centre, standing, and marked by her shield. To the right is Zeus, marked as such by his arm-chair, as on the Parthenon frieze; to the left is Poseidon sitting on a rock. Some other figures¹ may be identified, but not with so much certainty.²

When the Nike temple was first restored and studied, it was maintained that it was a building of the times of Kimon, shortly after the battle on the Eurymedon, a decade or more before 450 B.C. The sculptures were forced to agree with that date. But they were subsequently put later and later, until Furtwängler assigned them to 425 B.C., when Athens had occasion to celebrate the great victory of Demosthenes in the battle near Amphiloehian Argos.³

But in 1897 there was found on the north slope of the Akropolis an inscribed block containing an archon's name and a decree that a temple of Athena Nike should be built.⁴ Kabbadias believed that the character of the letters and the name of the archon seemed to point to 450 B.C. as the date of the temple, which thus appeared to have been considerably older than the Parthenon. But the opinion that it already stood on its bastion before Mnesikles had conceived his plan of the Propylaea has been rejected by most scholars.

To pass around this temple, perched on its high bastion, was dangerous; and to avoid disaster a balustrade about three feet high was made, enclosing the temple. It followed the edge of the bastion on the north, west, and south sides, and probably

¹ There are twenty-four in all, and a few more were cut on the end of the block on the north side, now lost.

² B. Sauer, *Göttergericht über Asia und Hellas* (in *Aus der Anomia*, 1890), presents the fanciful explanation that Greece, a woman, is here accused by Asia, and that the Greek gods are assembled to judge the case. Why should Asia bring a suit at all, and before Greek gods?

³ *Masterpieces*, 443.

⁴ *Ephem. Arch.* (1897), 173; cp. *A.J.A.* 3 (1899), 130.

returned to the front steps of the temple. There may have been a plain balustrade from the beginning; but the one of which we have sculptural remains evidently belonged to a date near the end of the fifth century. When it fell outward from its high position it was badly broken. By a slow process of collecting, enough of it has been brought together in the Akropolis Museum to convey an idea of the exquisite beauty of the whole. It consisted for the most part of winged Nikes either setting up trophies or leading cows to the sacrifice.¹ Perhaps the choicest figure of all, and certainly the general favourite, is the Nike, who in full flight reaches down to adjust a strap of a sandal on her foot which she raises for a brief instant (Fig. 86). The contortion of her body, revealed rather than concealed, brings to prominence the exquisite beauty of her form.² Another Nike labouring to erect a trophy is more akin in spirit to the Parthenon Moira. She is grand; she does not invite attention, but is intent on her work. There is also a fine group of two Nikes struggling with a cow that they are leading to the sacrifice. Not one of these four has its head. But they are the choicest part of the balustrade that is left us. The few heads that are preserved are hardly worth mentioning; but the bodies show a kinship with the Parthenon figures, with which one almost involuntarily compares them.



FIG. 86.—Sandal-binder from Balustrade of the Temple of Nike. (Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

¹ R. Kekulé, *Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike*.

² While this display is not much greater than in the reclining Moira of the Parthenon gable, the latter is so august that one hardly thinks of her corporeal charms.

The Theseion. Metopes and Frieze.—The custom of calling this temple the Theseion still prevails, although none of the modern authorities believe that it has any right to the name,¹ because there is no agreement as to any other name. The temple is of moderate size, and owes its excellent preservation to the fact that it was early converted into a church of St. George. Its sculptural decorations are eighteen metopes, and two bands of frieze in Parian marble and in high relief, one on each end of the cella. The ten metopes on the front (east end) present nine of the labours of Herakles. One scene, the fight with Geryon, fills two metopes, a feature that seems to occur on the east metopes of the Parthenon. The Stymphalian Birds and Augean Stables are left out, as perhaps not appealing to the fancy of the sculptor. The Cretan Bull was omitted, presumably because Theseus appeared struggling with the Marathonian Bull on a metope just around the corner. The Attic hero could not, of course, be slighted here, and his deeds occupy the four easternmost metopes of the north and south sides.² The four on the south side have suffered more from the fact that there was more room there for people to congregate. Of those on the north side the best is the wrestling match between Theseus and Kerkyon, in which the muscular strain of both figures is finely portrayed. Both this metope and that of Theseus pitching Skiron into the sea have each a head preserved. But for its battered condition the struggle of Theseus with the Marathonian Bull on the south side would perhaps be the best of all. The bull is rearing, with his fore legs in air, but his head down between them. Theseus, wearing a fine thin mantle, grasps the bull's horn with his left hand, while with his right he is evidently pulling the bull's head backward and downward with a cord. The intense strain that appears in the similar metope from Olympia is absent, for

¹ The bones of Theseus, when brought from Skyros by Kimon in 469 B.C., were probably deposited in an aedícula farther north and in the heart of the city.

² It has been suggested that the remaining metopes may have been painted.

here Theseus is easily master. A convenient rock affords a support for his right foot, while his left knee is pressed against the bull's head. The metopes of this temple show quite as wide a divergence in style as those of the Parthenon.

The frieze is in high relief, and does not encircle the cella, like the Parthenon frieze. It consists of two bands, one at each end. The band at the eastern end, however, does not stop with the cella, but is continued to the outer colonnades. The west frieze contains twenty figures, and represents a battle of Centaurs and Lapiths, arranged for the most part in groups of two figures with three single figures interspersed. It is about what a group of Parthenon metopes would be if the triglyphs were eliminated. Many attitudes of the Parthenon metopes are repeated with striking similarity. Near the middle, two rearing Centaurs are dropping a rock upon the head of Kaineus, the Lapith chief, marked by a fine cuirass, and sinking him into the earth. Intense action, almost fury, pervades the scene. Several Lapiths have shields and helmets, which show that we are not dealing with a casual disturbance of a feast, but with a war to the death. The contorted attitude of a Centaur thrown over on his back near the left end, and a spear like the mast of a ship, which another wields, show this.

On the east frieze, which is longer and contains thirty figures (one apparently lost), where from the example of the Parthenon and the Nike temple we might expect a quiet scene, an equally fierce battle rages in the middle. Stones of great size are being hurled by nude men, two of whom are fallen upon the rocks. Over each anta, as befits architectural propriety, a restful scene is introduced. On the left are probably Athena, Hera, and Zeus;¹ on the right, with less certainty, Poseidon, Demeter, and Dionysos. On the extreme left beyond Athena one of the combatants is being bound. Balancing this group a trophy is being decked out on the right. The participants here are all Greeks. No heads are pre-

¹ The drapery of these divinities is worthy of comparison with that of the Parthenon figures, and while they are small they show the grand style.

served on this east frieze. How different is its composition and effect from the quiet east friezes of the Parthenon and the Nike temple !

These sculptures are our main criteria for dating the temple. From these it seems to be later, but not much later than the Parthenon. Dörpfeld reinforces this conclusion by architectural features,¹ in which an increasing Ionicizing tendency is apparent from the Parthenon through the Theseion to the temple at Sunion. These considerations more than outweigh the fact that Parian marble in ornamental sculpture was generally discarded at Athens after the erection of the Parthenon.

In recent times B. Sauer² has published his studies on the Theseion in a folio volume with fine plates, on which he restores the gable groups of the temple from cuttings remaining on the horizontal cornices. On this rather precarious foundation he has established his thesis that the east gable contained the birth of Erichthonios, in which Athena is the central figure, with a daughter of Kekrops on either side. On the left of this group was Ge holding Erichthonios, and to the right Kekrops himself. In the west gable the central group is made to consist of Hephaistos on the left, approaching the nymphs, Thetis and Eurynome.³ On either side, in the corners, are quadrigas of Helios on the right and Nyx on the left. Thus Hephaistos dominates the west gable in a measure ; but not quite as does Athena the east gable. On the basis of these studies Sauer names the temple the Hephaisteion ; and while the name cannot yet be regarded as universally adopted, it has achieved considerable popularity.⁴ It is to be noted that Athena and Hephaistos sit side by side on the Parthenon frieze,

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* 9 (1884), 336.

² *Das Sogenannte Theseion und sein Plastischer Schmuck*, 1899.

³ Homer, *Il.* 18. 398.

⁴ Dörpfeld long ago proposed this name in his open-air lectures in Athens. Reisch, Robert, Amelung, Six, and others accepted it. No other name at present enjoys so much favour. — It is on a wonderfully slender basis that Sauer assigns the lost sculptures to Amphion of Knossos, of the school of Kritios.

and that they were both patrons of handicraft; but Sauer's proposal gives Hephaistos a distinctly subordinate place. How does he know whether we are not dealing with another Athena temple?

The Erechtheion. — The Erechtheion, which comes next in chronological order among the buildings at Athens adorned with sculpture, was next to the Parthenon the most important of the buildings of the great age of sculpture, and seems to have usurped in Athenian religion the place which Perikles intended for the Parthenon. We must pass over its exquisite Ionic architecture, surpassing in delicacy that of every other Greek structure. Its frieze of figures in high relief pinned to a background of black Eleusinian stone must also be passed over, since its small fragments have little importance as works of art. But the Porch of Maidens¹ has furnished us figures which, though they are architectural supports, are yet among the finest sculptures now left to us from the great period (Fig. 87). It was a bold step to make use of a human figure as an architectural support. It had been tried before, as at Delphi in the Treasuries of the Siphnians



FIG. 87. — Karyatid from the Erechtheion.
(British Museum.)

¹ Vitruvius (I. I. 5) is responsible for the statement that the people of Karyai in Laconia sided with the Persians, and that the Greeks punished them by making their women burden bearers in many cities; and that architects used imitations of these women as architectural supports. From this passage of Vitruvius the name "Karyatid" was centuries ago applied to the maidens of the Erechtheion, although the only name for them at Athens was "the Maidens."

and the Knidians. Compared with the Maidens of the Erechtheion those figures are very archaic. The burdens of the latter were not heavy, as was the case with the Atlantes at Akragas. The Maidens could bear the light entablature without being pressed down by it. The neck, the weakest point in the support, was strengthened by a mass of hair falling down the back. To add also to the appearance of stability the three Maidens on either side had the inner leg bent, while the outer one was stiffened. They were represented as standing still. The folds of the chiton on the bearing side have the appearance of the flutes of an Ionic column. They stand four in the front line and one each behind the end figures.

They were guardians of the tomb of Kekrops, and they were worthy of their high office. Of all the figures made in imitation of them not one has kept the high spirit of the original. It was a pity that they were ever separated. Elgin carried one to the British Museum for safe-keeping, a terra-cotta substitute taking its place. Another was shattered by Turks or Greeks; and the other four have suffered considerable abrasion. But after the destruction of so much of Greek statuary they stand out as most magnificent creations of the mind and heart of Athens. We do not know their exact date. But in 409 B.C., when work on the temple, begun long before and interrupted by the war, was taken up again, we find the Maidens already in place. It is wonderful that the Athenians in the throes of that war and afterwards, began, continued, and finished the Erechtheion. If all else in Greek sculpture were destroyed, the Maiden in the British Museum, though separated from her sisters, would testify to the finesse, as well as to the nobility, of the ancient Greeks.

The Frieze of the Temple at Bassai. — During the Peloponnesian War Attic art invaded the Peloponnesos. Attic artists were not always scrupulous as to whether their patrons were political friends or enemies. When there was trouble at home, they sought work abroad. On the occasion of a plague, either in 430 B.C. or more probably ten years later, Phigaleia, wishing to show gratitude to

Apollo Epikourios for having spared the city, built over and around a small ancient shrine in a place called Bassai, "the Glens," about four miles distant from the town, a fine large temple that should do honour to the god. Iktinos, one of the architects of the Parthenon, supervised the work. It is not improbable that he brought with him Attic sculptors as well as builders. In fact there is in these sculptures so much similarity to the Athenian sculptures just described that it is fair to assume their Attic origin.

The small and very ancient temple already existing was incorporated into the new one, which, made like its predecessor of local grey stone, extended across it to the north, and faced in that direction; an exceptional feature, for temples usually faced to the east.¹ This great addition to the north was really an open court, giving probably the first example of a hypaethral temple. But this court was virtually only an appendage to the temple proper, the ancient shrine. Over the pronaos which faced northward were metopes of which only fragments remain, but from these fragments they are declared to be finer than the frieze. The latter was part of the entablature, which extended around all four sides of the open court and was supported by a series of short walls projecting inward from the cella wall and ending in half columns. The thin frieze slabs, which rested on the architrave, were held in place by dowels which ran back into large wooden beams. Holes in the slabs make this certain. From a point inside the open space the frieze could be viewed as a whole, while the usual position of a frieze makes the spectator go around all four sides of the building. Practically the whole of this frieze was found by Cockerell and his companions in 1811, and three years later was acquired for the British Museum. Both frieze and metopes were of Doliana marble. On the friezes of the fifth century hitherto described the scenes lap over more or less on the slabs to the right and left, but here each slab is complete in itself, a feature that has disadvantages for the proper ar-

¹ The ground was here so uneven that the little temple could not well have been enlarged to the east or west.

rangement of the whole. In fact this is really unattainable. Two subjects are here portrayed, an Amazon battle and the old theme of a fight between Lapiths and Centaurs. To each subject a long and a short side was given, except that the Amazons occupied one plaque of the long side which belonged to the Centaur and Lapith group.

We have already seen, on the friezes of the Nike temple and the Theseion, examples of intense action, but here the intensity, both in fury and in pathos, is much greater, and points to a decline. Among those slabs that carry the fight to a fury are two belong-



FIG. 88. — Amazon Relief from Phigaleia. (British Museum.)

ing to the Amazonomachy, on one of which (Fig. 88) a Greek on the left, with an abnormally long left leg, is dragging away an Amazon by the ear, while she braces herself against him with her right arm and leg. On the same slab is another full-breasted Amazon and a Greek, each with a shield, rushing upon each other with fierce intensity. The Greek, bent forward to the attack, looks both fierce and wary, while the Amazon is only fierce. Her legs spread wide apart make curious horizontal folds in her garment from thigh to thigh. On this, as on other slabs, drapery is distributed liberally, but in no very rational order. On another slab (Fig. 89) an

'Amazon is riding in from the left on a horse like those of the Parthenon frieze, trampling down a man with a fez, who is perhaps the cause of her apparent rebound. In the middle is an Amazon with a closely fitting helmet without a plume, attacking a man with a lion's skin, generally called Theseus.¹ Both recoil, Theseus probably in order to deliver a death blow. Then to the right, on the end, is an Amazon falling dead or dying from her horse, which also goes down. A youthful Greek, with a look that seems to express



FIG. 89.—Battle between Greeks and Amazons. (British Museum.)

pity, seizes her by the shoulder and one foot ; but she has passed beyond harm or pity.

In the Centaur fights we see the invulnerable Kaineus with helmet and shield as on the Theseion, still defending himself, though overborne and pressed into the earth by two Centaurs towering above him in pyramidal form. Greeks standing by are powerless to extricate him. Around the one next to him on the right, drapery is flying in strange coils. Still another scene is the most extreme of all. In the middle is a dead Centaur with legs, arms, and head pressed down flat to the rocky ground like the archaic Bull on the Akropolis (p. 58), while a dog is biting him in the neck. A companion Centaur, leaping over him, gives a vicious kick with both hind legs to the shield which a Lapith on the left holds out for protection. The living Centaur is curiously repre-

¹ A similar figure on another slab probably represents Herakles.

sented as at the same moment engaged in a fierce fight with a Lapith on the right end of the slab, and pressing his teeth deep into the shoulder of the Lapith to the left, who has found time to drive his two-edged sword nearly to the hilt into the vitals of the beast who has fought his last fight. But the Lapith's own eyes seem closed in death. On the Parthenon metopes dead Centaurs were avoided as unaesthetic, but on the Bassai temple they were displayed in their utmost ugliness.

Pathos is here carried to an extreme. One woman attacked by a Centaur is holding a babe,¹ while her natural protector has been thrust down to the ground by another Centaur to the right. Most pathetic of all is the scene where two women have fled to a shrine. This being invaded, the woman to the left extends both arms in hopeless agony as she sees her companion, with her arm encircling the sacred image itself, laid hold of by the unholy Centaur, who tears away her garment even as she leans against the image. This figure is the most pathetic and most beautiful of the whole frieze. In the hour of need relief comes in the person of Herakles, who, having hung up his lion's skin on a tree, is making quick work with the Centaur, who in that very moment was gloating over his prey.² On another slab even a Centaur seems to express grief at the death of a comrade. In general, pathos has supplanted the calmness of the Parthenon frieze.

Since 1900 the Greek authorities have restored the temple, setting up fallen columns and replacing other pieces, making a practical and judicious restoration.

Relief from Eleusis. — The Age of Perikles, in spite of the general submergence, has not failed to leave here and there other things of beauty. Two reliefs in the museums of Athens deserve to take rank with the relief sculptures of the Parthenon: the large relief

¹ The breadth of her hand is equal to the length of the babe's thigh.

² Herakles' knee is poorly planted on the Centaur, and looks as if it would slip off. But the Centaur is doubtless doomed. On the similar Parthenon metope the knee is better placed. For these scenes, see *Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, 4, Pl. 1-23, and Brunn-Bruckmann, Nos. 86-91.

from Eleusis (Fig. 90), and the so-called Mourning Athena. On the relief from Eleusis, now in the National Museum, the figures are about life-size. Between two august females stands a youth, marked as such by his smaller stature. A deep religious solemnity pervades the group, which makes the relief comparable to an altar-piece in a cathedral.

It is quite clear that a holy office is here being performed at the holiest spot in Attika. The youth is Triptolemos, whom "the goddesses twain," Demeter and Persephone, are ordaining for the mission, to give to the world the knowledge of agriculture which brought with it civic life. We know that at the most solemn moment in the Eleusinian Mysteries an ear of grain was held up in silence before the initiated.



FIG. 90. — Triptolemos between Demeter and Kore. (Athens, National Museum.)

The figure to the left, resting her left hand on a sceptre, is putting an ear of grain, once represented in paint or in bronze, with her right hand, into the uplifted hand of the youth. This hand is formed to grasp an elongated object between the thumb and fingers. The august figure behind the youth is in the act of pressing a wreath upon his head in token of his consecration to the great mission of conveying agriculture, the great civilizing element, into the wide world.

It has been debated which of the two goddesses is Demeter,

One might suppose that it is she who puts the ear of grain into Triptolemos' hand. But Furtwängler declares that at this period



FIG. 91. — So-called Mourning Athena. (Athens, Akropolis Museum.)

the Doric peplos was the invariable garment for maidens when maids and matrons appeared in the same scene.¹ The contrast in hair and drapery was doubtless of set purpose, to avoid monotony. The boy's openly displayed nudity is another element of contrast. Had we found only the right-hand figure, we should have been inclined to put it near the end of the fifth century B.C.; but the schematic hair of the boy and the stiff folds of the peplos of the goddess, whom we may now call Persephone, incline us to give this glorious stele a date earlier than the Parthenon sculptures. While the kinship of this relief to the Par-

thenon frieze is evident, the solemnity which befits the solemn act lifts it out of the category of displays of "beauty and chivalry" into the realm of religion.

¹ The torch and sceptre would, of course, be natural attributes of either goddess.

The So-called Mourning Athena. — A charming, but less important relief, generally called the Mourning Athena (Fig. 91), in the Akropolis Museum, leaped into popularity as soon as it was discovered. The warrior goddess is marked as such by her spear and Corinthian helmet with a crest, although the aegis is lacking. Her Doric chiton has a diplois girt at the waist with a cord. The chiton does not reach to the ground, and both feet are displayed, the left on tiptoe throwing back the chiton and breaking somewhat the columnar effect seen in the left figure of the Eleusinian relief and in the Maidens of the Erechtheion.

The chief interest of this figure lies in its attitude. The goddess leans forward with her head bent down, her forehead almost touching the raised left hand that holds the spear. The right hand, with thumb and fingers spread out, rests upon her thigh. She seems leaning somewhat wearily on an inverted spear, which has suggested to some "reversed arms" and mourning. The block on which the goddess' gaze seems to be resting has been taken by some to be a stele on which Athena contemplates the names of the dead Athenian heroes. From this attitude the figure has been called the Mourning Athena. But the tokens of mourning are by no means certain. No other fifth-century work shows such a sentimental attitude, and what seems conclusive is



FIG. 92. — Perikles. (British Museum.)

that the Greek gods were not supposed to be "touched by the feeling of our infirmities." Since the relief was found on the Akropolis, it can hardly be funereal. It has been suggested that since Athena is not in position to see the names cut on the supposed stele, she may be leaning over a battlement, wrapt in "maiden meditation" upon her favourite city. The feeling that there is here sorrow and mourning is, however, on the whole very difficult to shake off.¹



FIG. 93.—Nike of Paionios.
(Olympia.)

Bust of Perikles.—Two figures in the round of the period under discussion are of some interest. By good fortune we have a fine copy of a bust of Perikles (Fig. 92) in the British Museum, which, though only a copy, carries the conviction that we see something of the lineaments of "the great Olympian," somewhat cold and self-contained, who ruled Athens by the force of his character, and who, if he had lived, might have guided her to victory. The rather sensual mouth is dominated by the upper part of the face, which is intellectual and forceful.

Nike of Paionios.—The other figure is the Nike of Paionios, at Olympia (Fig. 93). While Paionios has properly been debarred from the claim of having made the sculptures of the eastern gable of the temple of Zeus

¹ For an attempted explanation of the pillar see Bennett, *A.J.A.* 13, (1909), 431 ff.

at Olympia, he has a valid claim to the authorship of this Nike. Not only does Pausanias assign it to him, but Paionios took care that his name should be cut on the high triangular base of the statue. This Nike was once a magnificent figure "sailing through the azure deeps of air." But the loss of the face has left us only a delicate maiden body now descending gently toward the ground, still supported by an eagle which flies somewhat crosswise to her path.¹ The rapid flight throws back her drapery and reveals her form. The statue seems later than the date which would naturally be assigned it, 424 B.C., and is a trophy of the check given to Sparta, the ancient enemy of Messenia. In it we have taken a step toward the powerful and august Nike of Samothrake.

The so-called Hestia,² in the Torlonia Museum in Rome, is akin to the figure of a woman³ in Copenhagen with a rather suspicious-looking head. One readily sees affinities with the Olympia figures, especially with Sterope and Hippodamia. The Hestia shares the columnar character of these. A fleeing woman in Copenhagen with her garment strangely spread out at the waist also belongs here.⁴ She shares the Olympic features.

Several other female figures to which names cannot readily be assigned show the development of draped figures after the time of the pediment sculptures of Olympia. The figure called Hera or Demeter has been terribly battered and has lost both arms; but the drapery and the full form betray a statue of the fifth century. Others may be included here, although they do not have the flavour of the fifth century. The Hera, or "Barberini Juno,"⁵ in the Vatican, when patched up, makes a very respectable appearance. The dra-

¹ A fine head in the collection of Miss H. Hertz in Rome has been recognized as a copy of the head of this statue. See Amelung, *Röm. Mitt.* 9 (1894), 162, Pl. 7; Treu, *Olympia*, III, 188-192.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 491; Von Mach, 75.

³ Arndt, *Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, p. 13, Fig. 3.

⁴ Arndt, *ibid.*, Pl. 38.

⁵ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 492; Von Mach, 105.

pery is superb, especially where it clings, as if moistened, to the upper part of the body. The face has suffered comparatively little in the adjusting of a new nose. In the beautiful Borghese "Juno"¹ in Copenhagen we find less of divinity. The drapery fallen from the neck, but still clinging, is a piece of virtuosity which marks a lowering of the tone. The



FIG. 94. — Dexileos, Grave Relief. (Athens, Dipylon.)

lowering of divinity goes on in the famous Venus Genetrix,² with hands restored, which Furtwängler regarded as a copy of the "Aphrodite in the Gardens," by Alkamenes, Pheidias' pupil, "a statue world-renowned and superior to all other draped statues of that goddess."³

The Athena of Vellettri,⁴ with a stern face and her helmet tipped on the back of her head, has a very diminutive aegis, hung by a collar made of links of chains. The Athena Giustiniani⁵ has acquired considerable fame, and on the

other hand has been much disparaged. On the whole it is

¹ Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 239. 8.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 473; Von Mach, 108.

³ Furtwängler, Roscher's *Mythologie*, i. 413.

⁴ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 68; Von Mach, 107.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 200; 297.

probably an archaistic figure. Neither this nor the Velletri Athena is very stirring or admirable.

Funeral Monuments.—A most precious relic of Athenian sculpture is the series of exquisitely beautiful Attic grave reliefs, which begin in the fifth and continue through the fourth century. The

greater part of these reliefs are in the National Museum, but some of the choicest still remain in the Dipylon cemetery, in the northwestern part of the ancient city. Here no heartrending scenes are represented, but the dead are seen as when they were alive and pursuing their daily occupations. Here is the hero Dexileos, a knight on horseback, smiting down his antagonist (Fig. 94). Here too, is the beautiful, aristocratic lady, Hegeso (Fig. 95), seated and attiring herself with the aid of



FIG. 95.—Hegeso, Grave Relief. (Athens, Dipylon.)

her maid, who presents to her a jewel box, from which the lady draws some adornment. She is not decking herself for death, far from it; the scene is one taken from a happy life when the persons portrayed are at their best and happiest. As we pass through the beautiful forms now gathered in the museum we almost forget that they are tombstones. Here is not death, but simply transition. What a shock one experiences when one turns from grave reliefs

of the fifth and fourth centuries to a modern cemetery. Well did Goethe say, "No people of the earth has so sweetly dreamed the dream of life as the Greeks."

We may, without absolutely strict chronology, mention further a few of the important tombstones.¹ In a prominent place stands the stele of Demetria and Pamphile over life-size.



FIG. 96.—Funereal Relief of Father and Son.
(Athens, National Museum.)

The august forms in marble seem to weave a spell over us. The relief of Damasistrate contains in high relief four persons. But she gives the name to the group. This is a typical representative tombstone. Damasistrate, seated, grasps the right hand of her husband. It is a scene of separation in this world or reunion in the next. The drooping head of the standing woman and the ap-

parent grief of the maidservant might incline us to mark it as a death scene—a long separation. The beauty of the seated woman is apparent to all. There is another relief in which affection is equally shown. A seated woman presses forward to join her friend in a mutual and warm embrace. The rather stiff form to the left is a supernumerary. The clinging drapery is to be noticed. A relief found in the bed of the Ilissos is peculiar. A youth un-

¹ Percy Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*.

clothed stands looking apparently gloomily into space (Fig. 96), and we seem to see dejection not only in his eyes, but in those of the old man beside him. Thus we see the Skopas eye in both profile and in front view. A boy behind the naked youth is crushed with grief. The dog with a long, wolf-like nose marks the youth as a hunter. The two, doubtless father and son, were set deeply back into an aedicula. Both this fact and the forms of the figures indicate that we have come far down into the fourth century. Still later and in fact entirely within the aedicula is the warrior Aristonates with shield and helmet in another relief. The deep-set eye is a prominent feature.

Asia Minor. — The Attic art of the fifth century spread out over Asia Minor, leaving traces of itself in Lycia, and especially at Xanthos. Works of both the fifth and fourth centuries are notable. Close by the archaic "Harpy Tomb" rose a monument in the form of a temple, perched on a very high pedestal. It had three bands of reliefs, two probably on the pedestal, the other serving as the regular frieze of the order. A number of large statues were distributed among the columns. Attic influence is everywhere evident. A scene from the lower frieze, representing a Greek fighting with two Asiatics,¹ is strikingly excellent. The scene is marked with pathos, especially so in the case of the effeminate Asiatic on his bent knees.

The reliefs on a Heroön, in the form of a large enclosure, at Trysa in the same region, although much weatherworn from being in soft limestone, belong also to this period. One is irresistibly reminded of pictorial art where the figures crowd one another on canvas. We have here one frieze placed directly upon another, the adornment seeming overloaded. The inside friezes were also lavishly applied. The figures are almost innumerable, and form a world of mythology, a good deal of which is beyond our understanding. The whole has been transported to Vienna and forms a museum by itself.²

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 215.

² Benndorf and Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbacchi-Trysa*.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOURTH CENTURY

SKOPAS

ONE would hardly have supposed that after the disasters of the Peloponnesian War, which shook the foundations of civic life, there would succeed another period of bloom in art almost as brilliant as the Age of Pheidias. But this marvel did come to pass; and there are not a few who value the works of the great masters of the fourth century as highly as those that have been left to us from the great fifth century. Contemporaries assigned to Praxiteles nearly, if not quite, as high a place in sculpture as that occupied by Pheidias. His probably somewhat older contemporary, Skopas, was less lauded in antiquity; but it is now beyond doubt that he was a genius struggling to express great ideas, and that his works did not suffer when compared with those of Praxiteles.

In modern times up to 1879, in spite of Urlichs' book on Skopas, composed from literary sources and guesswork, little was known of his style. The most important fact reported of him was that when the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea was burned down in 395-394 B.C., he was commissioned to supervise the building of a much larger temple to take its place. Since he was pre-eminently a sculptor, it has been justly assumed that the sculptured decorations of the new temple would be controlled by him and show his style at least to the same degree that the Parthenon sculptures showed the style or the spirit of Pheidias.

Just how much time elapsed between the destruction of the old temple and the building of the new we do not know. Probably the time was short, since Tegea had not suffered much from the Peloponnesian War. We do know that the new temple was built of marble from the near quarry of Doliana, and that it called forth great admiration. Pausanias, who belonged to a generation that esteemed marble highly, forgetting the temple of

Zeus at Olympia, called this doubtless brilliant creation "the largest temple in the Peloponnesos." As the centuries passed, this temple vanished from the earth, and its exact situation was unknown.

In 1879 Milchhöfer discovered, on or near what proved to be the site of the temple, two heads¹ of Doliana marble which a year later were identified by Treu² as belonging to this building. They also clearly belonged to a gable, since they were cut off obliquely at the top, and must have been so treated in order to make them fit the oblique line of a gable. To make this conjecture certain a considerable fragment of a boar's head was found. Pausanias had reported that the east front contained in its gable a group representing the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, in which the boar was a prominent figure. Thus we have the certainty that these fragments came from one or the other of the two gables.

In the more recent excavations at Tegea by the French School at Athens, there was found a female figure in Parian marble which may be Atalanta herself,³ in which case, since she was probably one of the most prominent figures of the gable, Parian marble was fitting. Furtwängler has advanced the view that all the figures in the east gable, except the Boar, were of Parian marble.

The two male heads (Fig. 97) were at once recognized as different from any Greek heads hitherto known. The structure of the skull is unique, and differs totally from the head of the Hermes of Praxiteles, which had been found only a few years before. The faces are short; the longest diameter of the head is a horizontal line from the forehead to the back of the skull, which is flat on the top, compared with the high dome of the skull of the Hermes. The whole shape of the two heads shows physical force. Over and above this there is intensity of *action*. The short mouth and the broad nose show that. But it is the eye that contributes most to this intensity. Here on either side of the broad bridge of the nose the inner corners of the eyes are

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* 4 (1879), 133.

² *Arch. Zeit.* 38 (1880), 98.

³ E. A. Gardner, *J.H.S.* 26 (1906), 170, 283.

sunken deep into the skull, while at the outer ends a thick pad of flesh comes down from the forehead, forming a projection under which the sharply rising lower lid disappears from sight. In a profile view the eye nearly disappears. The whole opening of the eye is fully half as wide as the length. This makes an expression



FIG. 97.— Two Skopasian Heads from Tegea.
(Athens, National Museum.)

totally different from the mild, dreamy eyes of Praxiteles' *Hermes*, where the breadth is only a third of the length. The eye is also deeply set as well as padded. Sculpture has travelled a long distance since the pre-Persian "Maidens" of the Athenian Akropolis appeared with eyes on the surface of the skull. It has suddenly been dowered with the gifts of a genius, who carved out a way of his own. Here we see fierce action for the first time portrayed in the face; and it has come to stay. From this time onward we keep meeting the "Skopas eye." We see it on grave monuments of the fourth century at Athens, on the friezes of the Mausoleum; in fact, everywhere.

It is a strange commentary on our early authorities that they failed to recognize the diametrically opposite tendencies of Skopas and Praxiteles. They lacked light, because they were dealing with

copies ; but in the presence of a few originals we realize the blindness of the soi-disant authorities. Upon the discovery of the Tegean heads there followed immediately an enlargement of our knowledge as to the genuine works of Skopas. E. F. Benson¹ recognized a head in the National Museum at Athens as probably a genuine work of Skopas, perhaps an Aphrodite.

Botho Graef² discovered in two similar heads, one found at Genzano, now in the British Museum, and another in one of the palaces on the Capitoline hill, a marked resemblance to the heads from Tegea, now in the National Museum at Athens. The open mouth in these heads is more marked than in the battered heads from Tegea. A long series of some twenty heads in various museums was now pointed out as Skopasian. The two which had first attracted the attention of Graef he recognized as copies of a youthful Herakles wearing a poplar wreath. The abundance of replicas pointed to a famous original. This was with some probability conjectured to be the famous statue of a youthful Herakles in the Gymnasium at Sikyon, represented on coins of that city.³

A firm basis now laid, it required only the application of a careful test for the admission of other candidates into the group. It was not long before the famous Meleager⁴ in Rome was recognized, without a dissenting voice, as an excellent representative of Skopas. On this broad and firm basis several other candidates took their proper place. Some of the older and famous claimants were unable to endure the test and were shut out. The Ludovisi Ares⁵ has a debatable claim. But that several originals are ready to be admitted is beyond all doubt. The best is the head of an august goddess, found on the south slope of the Akropolis, in the Asklepieion (Fig. 98). This head lacks none of the Skopasian credentials.⁶ An Asklepios from the Peiraeus⁷ may also here be

¹ *J.H.S.* 15 (1895), 194.

² *Röm. Mitt.* 4 (1889), 189.

³ A coin of Geta. *Num. Comm.* Pl. H xi.

⁴ Graef, *Röm. Mitt.* 4 (1889), 218; Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 386.

⁵ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 388; Von Mach, 213.

⁶ Julius, *Ath. Mitt.* 1 (1876), 269.

⁷ *Ath. Mitt.* 17 (1892), 10.

enrolled, since he also has all the Skopasian marks. The Athena in the Uffizi also, according to Furtwängler,¹ is "from the fiery genius of Skopas." "The goddess is conceived somewhat like a Joan of Arc, in the semblance of a young, still undeveloped girl—

vibrant with courage and enthusiasm, her face slightly upturned, she looks out into space."



FIG. 98.—Goddess from South Slope of Akropolis. (Athens, National Museum.)

The Niobe group in Florence, over which critics used to quarrel as to whether it was the work of Skopas or of Praxiteles, is now generally regarded as late work or a copy in which neither had a part (see p. 248).

We may be reasonably sure that Skopas, who came from Paros, and worked by preference in the marble of his beloved island, had a long life. Forty years after he had appeared at Tegea as a noted sculptor, we see him at work upon the Mausoleum of Halikarnas-

sos, one of the Seven Wonders of the World. It was about the middle of the fourth century B.C. when, with several famous Athenian sculptors, he undertook the decoration, and perhaps the construction, of that famous tomb, at the request of Artemisia, the wife and sister of Mausolos, one of the kinglets who sprang up in the territory of the decaying Persian empire. Doubtless many stories arose in connection with the work. One was to the effect that the love-sick queen died of grief over the death of Mausolos

¹ *Masterpieces*, 305.

before the tomb was completed, and that the artists finished it at their own expense, so great was their love of art. There is nothing improbable in the story when we take into account that the work may have at that time been already nearly completed. The building of marble, surmounted by the colossal figure of Mausolos, must have been above all praise. The architect was Pythios. In the adornment of this temple-tomb Skopas was probably the directing mind. There can be little doubt that Leochares and Bryaxis were comparatively young men, while Skopas, from his



FIG. 99. — Piece of Frieze of the Mausoleum. (British Museum.)

greater age and experience, was the leading spirit. Timotheos, who had seen service in adorning the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros with sculptures, was probably next in age and experience. Pliny¹ says that these four sculptors took each one side of the building. But so far as we can judge from the fragments of the two friezes that retain anything intelligible, there is no great divergence between one side and another. It is certainly more probable that each sculptor controlled a whole frieze than that he collaborated on all the friezes. Fiction was at work, as we may see from the fact that Vitruvius² mentions Praxiteles in his list, apparently making him a substitute for Timotheos.

¹ Pliny, 36. 30 f.

² Vitruvius, 5. 12.

The "frieze of the order," of which enough remains to give an idea of the style, contains admirable figures of Greeks fighting with Amazons (Fig. 99). The latter are beautiful figures—too beautiful to be called viragos—who are striking out wildly at their male antagonists with no hope of victory.



FIG. 100. — Sculptured Drum of a Column from Temple at Ephesos. (British Museum.)

One of them seems executing a *tour de force*, fighting backward on horseback. From the "charioteer frieze,"¹ which was probably located at the top of the high base, we have one driver fairly well preserved. The backward flow of the long garment is admirable. The driver, who looks like a woman, is probably a youth with a trailing Ionic garment. What strikes us particularly in nearly every head on all the preserved figures is the

"Skopas eye," whether in action or in passion. The spirit of Skopas seems brooding over the whole.

While sojourning on the Ionic shore Skopas may well have taken time to carve the figures on some of the drums of the new Artemision at Ephesos, near at hand, in 356–333 B.C. On the drum, fairly well preserved, in the British Museum (Fig. 100) both heads that survive, Hermes and Thanatos, have the Skopas eye.

¹ British Museum, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, Pl. 18.

PRAXITELES

We now turn to a contemporary of Skopas, a typical Athenian, a Greek sculptor, better known than any other except, perhaps, Pheidias. This was Praxiteles, of a family of Athenian sculptors. His fame rested mainly on his Eros and his Satyr, although he wrought many other figures which at one time seemed to overshadow the works of the great fifth century. These glorious creations were lost with the wreck of ancient glory, and although in the multiplicity of replicas, especially of his Aphrodites, as well as of the Satyr and the Eros, his style was felt, yet there was no certain original from his hand until in 1877, at Olympia, the Hermes was found, a minor piece, it is true, but genuine. The significance of this find is realized when we recall the fact that it was believed that no one of the great Greek sculptors, Pheidias, Myron, Polykleitos, Skopas, Lysippos, and Praxiteles, had left a work of his own hand. The world hailed and beheld with wonder this one solitary original of the great days of sculpture. But that this Hermes was to Pausanias, at least, a minor work is evidenced by the fact that he barely mentions it in passing through Olympia, saying: "A stone Hermes, and he bears a baby Dionysos, a work of Praxiteles." How different is his tone when he comes to the Eros and the Satyr! These were celebrities, and known to the garrulous traveller as such. He may not have been the highest judge of art, and we might disable his judgement were it not for the consensus of antiquity which passes by the Hermes to look at greater splendours.

We almost certainly have copies of some of the most famous of Praxiteles' works. Of the Eros and the Satyr this is beyond question; but just how near the copies approach the great originals we do not know. The Eros of the Vatican,¹ called from its place of discovery "the Centocelli Eros," is the finest of all extant copies, mainly because of the excellent preservation of the head. We therefore take it as the best representative of Praxiteles' popular statue. The copies range through good, bad, and

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 379; Von Mach. 189.

indifferent ; and they are legion. The same is true of the Satyr. The copy in the Capitoline Museum, found in Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, has gained world-wide celebrity in part through Hawthorne's tale of "the Marble Faun" (Fig. 101). In it we have an excellent representation of a being almost but not quite human. Its almost



FIG. 101. — Marble Faun. (Rome, Capitoline Museum.)

perfect preservation puts it at the head of all the copies. A torso in the Louvre comes from what seems to have been a more excellent copy ; but since in the Capitoline copy, the Marble Faun, we have the head with its curious wild but mischievous face, we naturally regard it as the representative of the masterpiece. It is something to have these two famous masterpieces revealed to us in a fairly satisfactory manner through copies. We know from an anecdote that Praxiteles considered these two statues to have been his best. He had promised his beloved Phryne, so the story goes, that he would give her the finest of all his statues, but he would not at once tell her which he regarded as his best. She then resorted to a ruse, making some one tell Praxiteles that his atelier was on fire. The sculptor

in agony said, "If my Eros and my Satyr are lost, all is lost." Phryne had got the information which she sought. Which one she chose is immaterial. The whole story may be simply *ben trovato* ; but it indicates that these two stood high among his works, either with himself or with his patrons. Thus the Eros and the Satyr are stamped for all time as his greatest productions.

But how little we can realize from the copies the beauty of the originals !

Praxiteles inclined to gentleness, exhibiting an antithesis to Skopas, who was intense. His Hermes has the high arched skull, while Skopas' heads have their longest axis from front to rear. He inclined to the representation of female beauty, but always of an exalted character, which reached its culmination in the Aphrodite of Knidos, of which copies enough remain for us to form some appreciation of the original. It is said that he made a draped Aphrodite for Kos and a nude Aphrodite for Knidos, cities on the coast of Asia Minor separated from each other by a narrow strait. Of the draped Koan Aphrodite, we have no certain adequate copy, but in the case of the Knidian Aphrodite we are more fortunate. The Aphrodite of the Vatican (Fig. 102) gives probably the best extant representation of her. She appears nude, rising from her bath, or going to it, as is shown on coins of Knidos. Praxiteles probably had before him as a model the celebrated Phryne ; but his artist soul carried him above sensual and even mundane thoughts as he saw in a vision the incarnate goddess entering her bath. The broken right arm is here represented as instinctively thrown forward at the thought of being surprised. There is a shrinking as of modesty. She starts back at the "thought of her own loveliness."



FIG. 102. — Aphrodite of Knidos.
(Rome, Vatican.)

It is said that Nikomedes, King of Bithynia, so coveted the statue that to have it as his own he offered to pay the public debt of the city of Knidos. We, of course, have no statement of the amount of this debt, but it was doubtless considerable. No persuasion, however, could induce the city to part with the choice statue, which ultimately perished in a fire at Constantinople near the end of the fifth century A.D.

It is likely that Praxiteles at one time sojourned not only at Knidos, but at other places along the coast of Asia Minor. The Aphrodite of Kos, the people of which city preferred her to the Knidian, has been thought to be represented by the "Venus of Arles,"¹ now in the Louvre, although this is draped only from the hips downward. The head has fully as much dignity as that of the statue in the Vatican, which nevertheless carries off the plaudits.

There is a certain gradation or degradation to be observed in the line of extant Aphrodites. They seem to begin with the Capitoline copy of the Aphrodite of Knidos, where we see a proper shrinking of a glorious being, and to end with the "Venus dei Medici," who shows no shrinking as she exposes the charms of which she is fully conscious. Of the various heads of the Knidian Aphrodite that are preserved, the Kaufmann head² in Berlin is perhaps the most noteworthy.

The Sauroktonos described by Pliny³ was, by exception, a work of bronze, and shows the sportive side of the artist. The statue represents a youthful nude figure, probably a young Apollo, teasing a lizard. Some regard him as preparing for the slaying of the Python. Here appears conspicuously the famous Praxitelean S,⁴ which reappears in several of his figures, notably in the Satyr (Marble Faun).

But let us now return to our one "original." We must make the most of it, even if it is but a fragment of the glorious whole of

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 296; Von Mach, 203.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 161.

³ Pliny, 34. 70; Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 234; Von Mach, 186.

⁴ The gentle bend in the body has been not inaptly so called.

Praxiteles' works. "Mild Hermes," Wordsworth has fitly called the god; and here we behold him in that character (Fig. 103). Benignity beams from his features as he holds on his left arm the infant Dionysos, seeming to look past him into space, dreaming or half dreaming with an apparent forgetfulness of the child god, who seems trying to arrest his attention. This attitude is reproduced in several small bronzes, in one of which Hermes holds a bunch of grapes before the infant Dionysos. In another he looks out into space past Dionysos, whom he seems to utterly ignore. The latter seems to be in the attitude of our original. The infant is excited, reaching out his hands; but Hermes looks straight before him as in a dream.

To appreciate the difference between an original and a copy, one needs only to look at this group, in which, however, the infant is a mere accessory. Even without training one feels the difference. It is not in the easy attitude nor in the exquisite finish nor in the action. It is the inexplicable spirit of the master shining out. The head is, of course, the principal thing. We have torsos enough which we are asked to admire; but here is a statue which we are compelled to admire. It is not, however, in the last instance the body or the limbs or the graceful Praxitelean S that attracts us; it is that mild and yet godlike head. The high arched dome



FIG. 103. — Hermes of Praxiteles.
(Olympia.)

of the skull is contrasted with the flat heads of Tegea, full of physical force. High intelligence and tenderness become predominant. What, then, can we think of the art of Praxiteles when this Hermes was hardly thought worthy of mention, and was dismissed by Pausanias without a word of praise? What should we say and feel if we had before our eyes the Satyr and the Eros which the master considered to be his best works? Perhaps our judgement might not have been his. We might have



FIG. 104. — Apollo contending with Marsyas in Music.
(Athens, National Museum.)

preferred the godlike forms for which his beloved Phryne furnished the incarnate beauty, seen in the goddesses of Knidos and Kos. All the figures of Praxiteles are intensely Athenian and in contrast to what we know of Skopas, who would perchance pass at Athens as somewhat of a stranger.

Praxiteles is known to have made at Mantinea, probably about 362 B.C., when Epaminondas restored the city, a group of three statues, Leto, Apollo, and Artemis, as cultus statues. We know that they were set up on a single elongated base in one half of a double temple. Neither the temple nor the base has been found. But the excavations of the French School at Mantinea

brought to light in 1887 three marble slabs — the fourth is missing — which once ornamented this base. A slab presenting Marsyas contending with Apollo for victory in music, with a Phrygian between them ready to slay the audacious Satyr, was on the front side (Fig. 104). To the left of Apollo a slab containing three Muses is lost. Apollo is brought as nearly as possible to the centre. The other two extant slabs, with three Muses each, were placed around the corners on the ends. The base was set up against the partition wall; and the subject exactly filled the space. The deeper cutting in the moulding at the bottom on the front side is in marked contrast to that on the other two sides.¹ Of course the principal interest attaches to the slab which presents the trial of skill in music, where Apollo sits calmly awaiting the overthrow of the audacious Marsyas, who dared to vie with the invincible god. He has gone farther than Myron's Satyr who dropped his pipes before Athena. He is straining every muscle, since his life is the forfeit of failure. On the left sits the calm god waiting to touch his lyre, and confound the audacious wretch who has pledged his skin. His fate is indicated by the Phrygian who stands with knife in hand looking toward him. Apollo will soon blast him with the notes of his lyre. "All that the gods work is effortless and calm."

While these reliefs may not have been carved by Praxiteles himself, they are not unworthy of the young sculptor. It is not improbable that he inspired them even if he did not carve them with his own hand. In either case they serve as a pledge of greater works to come.

A great sculptor like Praxiteles doubtless had some works ascribed to him with which he had nothing to do. His name was once carved on one of the bases of the colossi of Monte Cavallo. This has generally been regarded as a hoax; but these works have lately been ascribed by Furtwängler to "Praxiteles the Elder"² and Pheidias.

¹ W. Amelung, *Die Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantinea*, 1895.

² A shadowy figure.

The same author has also claimed for Praxiteles the already famous but enigmatical bust found at Eleusis in 1885 in the precinct of Pluto (Fig. 105). Both he and Benndorf claimed the priority of having fixed its status as a god of the nether world under the name of Eubuleus, a euphemistic name for Hades. The stout neck and the somewhat sinister face seemed to furnish corroboration.



FIG. 105. — Eubuleus. (Athens, National Museum.)

The ascription of the bust to Praxiteles was shared by both. The inscription Εὐβουλεύς Πραξιτέλους, in letters of Roman times, on a headless herm in the Vatican seemed to close the case. Inscriptions with the name of Eubuleus on both a statue base and a relief in the sacred precinct seemed to be a superfluous corroboration.

Otto Kern¹ disturbed this consensus by maintaining that Eubuleus is Zeus. The Lakratides relief at Eleusis² mentions a priest θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς καὶ

Εὐβουλέως. Since θεοῦ is Hades, Eubuleus is somebody else, viz. Zeus. In an inscription at Paros we read of Demeter, Kore, and Zeus Eubuleus, where Eubuleus is clearly an epithet of Zeus. Kern regards as Triptolemos the youthful figure called by Furtwängler and Benndorf Eubuleus. But it can hardly be denied that the head has something dark and sinister, a trait which may have been accentuated by the overhanging eyebrows now badly battered. At any rate the impression made by

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* 16 (1891), 1.

² *Ephem. Arch.* 1886, Pl. 3, 2.

the head, now in the National Museum at Athens, is deep. If Praxiteles really carved it, he must have made in this strong face a wide departure from his usually gentle faces.

There are some, among them Ernest Gardner, who would place this bust in the Alexandrian period, and call it a bust of Alexander himself or one of the Diadochi. It is of the finest Pentelic marble according to Lepsius, our chief authority, and not, as is usually stated, of Parian. The bust is certainly an enigma. It is roughly chipped away at the bottom; a sort of pretence of clothing appears; the neck is uncommonly stout; the hair falls down in large masses in a way that we see nowhere else. It is a face that haunts us. Gardner is nearly, if not quite, alone in disparaging it, saying: "The small eyes and sensual mouth suggest Alexander with the stronger and better parts of his character omitted."



FIG. 106.—Demeter of Knidos. (British Museum.)

With the light that has been shed on the style of Skopas in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, we can have little difficulty in discriminating between his works and those of Praxiteles. Skopas was the Michelangelo of the period, Praxiteles had more nearly the temperament of Raphael.

The Skopas eye enables us to see in the Demeter of Knidos



FIG. 107.—Head of Asklepios from Melos. (Athens, National Museum.)

(Fig. 106) a work of that master, though Collignon ascribes her "to a contemporary of Praxiteles."

Nowhere do we see clearer characteristics of Skopas. The eyes are sunken and worn with suffering. The goddess sits before us as the veritable Mother of Grief mourning for her beloved daughter. The British Museum contains no statue that is more touching. The Asklepios of Melos (Fig. 107) can hardly be separated from the Demeter. But why should the gods and goddesses go mourning? It must be the spirit of the fourth century, with its tendency toward pathos.

LYSIPPOS

The sixth of the greatest Greek sculptors is Lysippos, who was probably not much, if at all, later than Praxiteles. He was a force much more akin to Skopas than to Praxiteles. He was no idealist. His aim was to bring sculpture down nearer to nature. Beginning as a humble artisan at Sikyon, he took, or professed to take, nature as his models. It is said that at an early stage in his career he asked the painter Eupompos, his fellow-citizen, whom among his predecessors he had best take as his exemplar, and Eupompos replied by pointing to the passing crowd and saying:¹ "Imitate nature and not the work of any artist." Lysippos, taking this advice, broke with the traditions of the Argive-Sikyonian

¹ Pliny, 34. 61.

school, and made a revolution in sculpture by taking his models from nature. He was probably a very prolific sculptor. It is said that, for every statue that he made, he used to drop a drachma into a vase, probably with a slit, and that, when the vase was broken open after his death, it was found to contain 1500 drachmas. Could he have made thirty bronze statues a year?

The canon of Polykleitos had made the head one-seventh of the total height of the figure. Lysippos discarded this canon and made the head one-eighth. The change from the canon of Polykleitos to that of Lysippos has long been supposed to be visualized in the far-famed *Apoxyomenos* of the Vatican (Fig. 108), in which it has long been thought the result of Lysippos' great innovation was to be seen. But within a few years a grave question has arisen, whether this work is really a copy of Lysippos' *Apoxyomenos*.

It has been asked: "What do we know of the original bronze of Lysippos?" We must answer¹: "Not much more than that

Lysippos made an *Apoxyomenos*, which was carried to Rome, was set up by Marcus Agrippa in front of his *Thermae*, and was there much admired. These facts do not carry us far, for the subject was no uncommon one, and we possess no detailed description of the treatment of it by Lysippos. But the marble statue in ques-



FIG. 108.—*Apoxyomenos*. (Rome, Vatican.)

¹ Tarbell, *Congress of Arts and Sciences, St. Louis* (1904), iii. 614.

tion exhibits a system of bodily proportions radically different from that of Polykleitos, and agreeing with the valuable, though inadequate, indications afforded by Pliny regarding the innovations introduced by Lysippos. On reflection we see that the agreement does not really clinch the matter. At most it only proves that the original of the *Apoxyomenos* of the Vatican is not earlier than Lysippos."



FIG. 109. — Agias. (Delphi.)

The excellence of the Vatican *Apoxyomenos* led to the belief that it represented the "canon" of Lysippos, which was regarded as his ideal of proportions; and no one doubted, or differed, until with the discovery of the statue of Agias a great light flashed from the recent excavations at Delphi. A marble statue, one of a group of eight, was set upon a pedestal which bore the name of Agias (Fig. 109); and the whole group represented a Thessalian family from Pharsalos.¹ Homolle hesitatingly pronounced these statues more Skopasian than Lysippean. But while some misgiving was felt, a still greater light suddenly dawned. Erich Preuner² discovered a copy of an inscription found at Pharsalos, identical

with the inscription at Delphi, except that it gave in addition the sculptor's name; and the name was Lysippos! A revolution now came. The Delphic statues were looked upon no longer as Skopasian, but as of the real style of Lysippos, and the only test to apply in treating of the works of that master.

¹ *B.C.H.* 23 (1899), 421, Pls. 10, 11.

² *Ein Delphisches Weihgeschenk*, 1900.

It must, however, be taken into consideration that they were carved in marble at a date considerably later than the bronze originals at Pharsalos, and cannot, therefore, afford the final test of style. But on the other hand we must remember that they were carved when Lysippos was still alive. They, therefore, probably convey a fairly correct impression of the lost originals. We can, then, in considerable measure depend upon them. Next to having the originals is a copy made in the lifetime of the sculptor.¹

We here see plainly the same intensity of feeling which appears in the faces of the Skopas heads from Tegea; but it is softened to a touch of melancholy. The head of Agias has, moreover, a shorter horizontal diameter from front to rear than the heads from Tegea. While the Agias is not a first-rate work of art, being somewhat carelessly carved and finished, we are bound to take it as affording our best available evidence as to the style of Lysippos. It comes to us through a translation, so to speak, while the Apoxyomenos belongs in a different sphere. Percy Gardner well says "Thus the new discovery amounts to something like a revolution."

It is now nearly thirty years since the establishing of a real Skopas head by the studies of Treu and Graef; and we have just come to see how much akin to Skopas is Lysippos. The Agias shows us, but not with the tremendous energy of Skopas, the deep-set eyes, the overhanging brows, and the breathing mouth. Compared with the helmeted head from Tegea (p. 214), the Agias is less fierce, and shows a tinge of melancholy.

Percy Gardner would break up the great Skopasian group established by Graef and withdraw from it the Meleager, which he would assign to Lysippos.² The statue so long known as the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos he would classify with the "Borghese Warrior" of Agasias of Ephesos, making it a product of the Hellenistic period.

We now tread more firmly when we approach the types of Alexander. Plutarch³ has put it beyond question that Lysippos

¹ Percy Gardner, *J.H.S.* 23 (1903), 127.

² *J.H.S.* 23 (1903), 130.

³ Plutarch, *Alex. Mag.*, 4.

was in a sense a court sculptor to Alexander, and that he made several statues of him, allowing the somewhat distorted neck of the world-conqueror to appear in various gradations. Numerous statues and busts of Alexander may, therefore, with some confidence be regarded as derived in a greater or less degree from Lysippos, even if what is left to us is mere flotsam and jetsam of once much better copies.

The bust in the British Museum¹ shows in a comparatively slight degree the distorted neck, the hair only slightly dishevelled, the eyes moderately deep-set, and the mouth not too deeply cut.



FIG. 110.—Herm of Alexander.
(Louvre.)

This is probably the best starting point in the Alexander series, since every one of the well-accepted features is here toned down, as they would naturally be by a master like Lysippos.

A colossal marble head in the Capitoline Museum,² which has long been supposed to represent Alexander, has also a distorted neck and parted lips. Perhaps the features are intended to resemble those of Helios. The manelike hair seems to fit a being

more than mortal; but the distorted neck hints at Alexander.

There is a herm in the Louvre (Fig. 110) which seems to represent Alexander in a calm mood. The locks that start up from the middle of the forehead, and the parted lips, speak of energy. In its restraint it conveys perhaps the best impression of the great conqueror. The face is strong and leonine. On the front of the bust is cut ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. This bust shows no distortion of the neck.

¹ Bernouilli, *Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen*, Pl. 6.

² Bernouilli, *ibid.*, Pl. 7.

Another bust, in the Uffizi Gallery,¹ called sometimes the "Dying Alexander," passes the limits of idealism. In fact it is doubtful whether this head belongs among the Alexander heads at all. It may be classed with the Laocoön.

A statue in Munich² represents the monarch deified but absurdly restored, anointing his shins from a small lekythos. Similar to this in pose is a figure in the Lateran³ decked out with all the paraphernalia of a Poseidon. It is a little startling to find that the trident, the prow of the ship, the dolphin, both legs below the knees, the left arm, the lower part of the right arm, parts of the hair, and beard are restored. We find, however, from various copies⁴ that these restorations are in a measure justified; and this battered hulk has come forth in glory, and is much superior to the Poseidon of Melos in Athens. Though it is a copy it certainly has the Lysippean eyes and the bent head. It is not unlikely that Lysippos made the original bronze for the Isthmian precinct, sacred to Poseidon. The attitude with a bent leg is, of course, not a creation of Lysippos. We already find it on the Parthenon frieze. But he made use of it. Another figure somewhat similar is seen in the Louvre. The face, however, is turned over the left shoulder instead of the right.⁵ This also may be ascribed to Lysippos. An athlete it certainly is, such as Lysippos loved to make. It also resembles Myron's figures often alluded to as "distorta." Except for the intense mouth one might call it Myronian; but this feature now inclines us to Lysippos. Here we see the slender proportions of an athlete.

Leaving now the clear trace of the Alexander type in sculpture, we turn to coins showing the same leonine face. Here the heads, however, are not always easily distinguished from those of his successors, and more especially from those of his contemporaries. Here also the type was probably set by Lysippos.

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 281; Von Mach, 235.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 105; Von Mach, 399.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 243.

⁴ Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 27; Collignon, ii. 419.

⁵ Collignon, ii. 421.

We now turn to the famous gigantic Farnese Herakles¹ in Naples, a wonder to the cicerone on account of its bigness. In it we seem to lose all traces of the style of Lysippos. We are told that his favourite subjects were Zeus and Herakles, and we know that Herakles was honoured at Sikyon with a statue by Lysippos. That the Herakles in the Naples Museum really represents a work of Lysippos seems established by a rather poor replica² in the Pitti Palace, which bears the inscription *ἔργον Λυσίππου*. The Naples copy is marked on its rock base as a work of "Glykon of Athens" in an inscription not earlier than the first century B.C. One feels a certain repugnance to this great hulking brute, so different from the Herakles in the metopes of the temple of Olympian Zeus. But it is hazardous to reject the evidence of the inscription. In the first century B.C. Lysippos was not so much in vogue as Praxiteles, and was not, therefore, very likely to have his name cut on a statue base haphazard. We have, therefore, to face the fact of divergent styles in the same master. For our peace of mind this statue might well have been sunk in the sea; but it is here with fairly good credentials of Lysippean origin. It has been remarked that the head is unduly small;³ but the flowing beard which counts as part of the head makes the head *seem* even larger in proportion to the body than we should expect. It is probable that the bronze statue was colossal, since we know of several such colossal statues by Lysippos, and reduced somewhat in the marble copy.

But if we wish to set before our eyes a type of a bronze statue by Lysippos, we may find it in Hermes reposing after a toilsome journey, now in the Naples Museum (Fig. 111). Here is a living bronze, so to speak, moulded by a master who was a maker of athletes. Many a wild guess at authors of statues has missed the mark much wider than a positing of a close relationship of this bronze with Lysippos, the master sculptor of athletes. We might

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 285; Von Mach, 236.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 284.

³ Von Mach, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 247.

imagine that at a touch this Hermes, now wearied with toil, would straighten himself up for another of his ceaseless errands. The potency of energy is certainly here. We can put our hand upon it and say, "This is typical Lysippean." It may be a copy, but the spirit of the master is here seen in every muscle and in its attitude. Here before us is the untiring messenger of the gods, now taking breath before another journey. The spent runner is pulling himself together for another toil. In an instant the muscles will tighten again, and off he will speed to some Kalypso. The "herald Mercury" is nowhere else brought so near to us. We almost seem to see before us the original bronze. But we must take no rash leaps. We may at least say



FIG. III.—Hermes resting from his Labours.
(Naples Museum.)

that this copy, if so we must call it, might stand unashamed in the presence of works of Lysippos himself.

Among the works of Lysippos we must probably also put one of the "wrestlers" in Naples,¹ taken from Herculaneum, the one standing to the right. It has been remarked that this one is so much finer than the other that the temptation to suspect an original by Lysippos is hard to resist. It comes from the same place as the bronze Hermes, and the kinship is patent. Why not in this case also admit a candidate that bears his credentials on his face?

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 354; Von Mach, 289.

The bronze statue of a boy with hands (wrongly restored) raised as in prayer (Fig. 112), which is in the Royal Museum in Berlin,



FIG. 112. — Bronze Statue of a Boy in Prayer.
(Berlin Museum.)

may be regarded as a work of Lysippos or his school. At any rate it shows his influence.

Lysippos worked, like other celebrated sculptors, in various and widely separated places. Called to Rhodes, he made a sun-god on a four-horse chariot. He seems to have delighted in making figures of Herakles. One of these, a colossal figure, made at Tarentum, journeyed to Rome, and then to Constantinople. The hero was represented as exhausted and depressed, leaning his head upon his bent arm as if he had reached the uttermost of endurance. Thus we find the introduction of pathos, which is an indication that a new era was at hand. Lysippos, therefore, may be regarded as entering a new realm where pathos begins to show itself openly. We are near the Hellenistic age.

Polykleitos had long ago made an allegorical statue

called Kairos, or as we might say "Occasion." We know nothing of its appearance. We have the bare statement of its existence. But Lysippos also made a Kairos at Sikyon, which was probably much more famous, if we can judge from the epigrams. Lysippos' Kairos was represented as swiftly passing along on a chariot, challenging the swift and agile to catch him. He was represented as bald, except for a single lock on his forehead. The swift and agile alone can grasp him by this lock. But when "Occasion" slips past, all attempt to catch him is vain. From this allegory comes down to us the phrase, "Take time by the forelock."

OTHER MASTERS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

We now leave the discussion of the three great masters of the fourth century, and turn to a few lesser lights, and to some remains which we can ascribe to no definite author. Epidauros here calls for some attention; and since we know from inscriptions that Timotheos and Thrasymedes worked on the temple of Asklepios, we may reasonably assign three female figures, doubtless Nikes,¹ on the three corners of the east gable, to these sculptors. The effect of these figures, which appear to float gently down to bless, must have been exceedingly pleasing. Nor must we forget a fighting Amazon from the gable group which is much like the figures on the Mausoleum frieze.² The hand, or at least the spirit, of Timotheos seems here apparent. Even in her mutilated condition this Amazon is seen to be raising her right hand to deal a terrible blow with her battle-ax, as did Dexileos with his spear (Fig. 94). This figure is in marked contrast to the floating figures. She sits easily on her wonderfully foreshortened horse. All the effect of the foreshortening, which would be beautiful when seen from the ground, looks out of proportion when seen from the level. Epidauros has furnished also two nearly square reliefs³ of the healing god, one of which is so fine⁴ that we are

¹ Kabbadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, i., Pl. X, 1-3.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 20; Von Mach, 242.

³ Kabbadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, i. 22. ⁴ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 3.

inclined to ascribe it to Thrasymedes. The god sits on his throne with his left leg thrown over his right in an easy attitude, resting on his right arm, while with his left he welcomes his worshippers.



FIG. 113. — Choragic Monument of Lysikrates.

His broad breast and august face proclaim the god. The second relief is much like this, but less grand.

We turn from these mutilated works to the still beautiful Choragic monument of Lysikrates at Athens (Fig. 113). The frieze represents the triumph of Dionysos and his attendant Satyrs over some

pirates who tried to overpower and enslave him. But the god transforms them into dolphins; and we see the gradual transformation proceeding as we pass around the monument. Two of Stuart's magnificent plates having by accident become misplaced in his great work, the gradual transformation is not there apparent.¹ These graceful figures are fine examples of low relief of the time. We have before us perhaps not the most pretentious choragic monument. But since the others have perished, we take this as a beautiful example. The monument is dated 335-334 B.C. by an inscription: "Lysikrates, son of Lysithides, was choragos: Lysiades of Athens trained the choros; Euainetos was archon." The circular top is a single piece with the gorgeous *akanthos* plant, on three projecting points of which the coveted bronze tripod rested.

We cannot here pass over the *Eirene* and *Plutos* in the Munich Museum (Fig. 114). Until recent times this group, so similar to the *Hermes* and



FIG. 114. — *Eirene* and *Plutos*. (Munich.)

Dionysos, was supposed to be a copy of a work of Kephisodotos, the father of Praxiteles. But Furtwängler has advanced excellent reasons for regarding Kephisodotos as an elder brother of Praxiteles. The drapery, especially the folds falling straight down

¹ De Cou, *A.J.A.* 8 (1893) 42, was the first to notice Stuart's error and bring out the true order.

over the left leg, reminds one of the fifth-century figures, especially of the Maidens of the Erechtheion. But the group, if such we may call it, is exceedingly similar to the Hermes and Dionysos, except that motherly tenderness here replaces the dreamy negligence of the older god. Man's tenderness is here set over against that of woman.¹

THE SARCOPHAGI OF SIDON

In 1887, near the ancient Sidon, a burial vault was discovered by the energetic Hamdy Bey.² The contents of this vault were soon brought to the museum of Constantinople and exhibited to the wondering world. The vault was in fact a subterranean cemetery composed of seven chambers grouped around a central vestibule. Twenty-two sarcophagi were here found still *in situ*. Some appear to be of the fifth century, but most are of the fourth. Confining ourselves to the best, we follow approximately the chronological order.

First in time we note the so-called Satrap's Sarcophagus, which displays in low relief scenes appropriate to the life of the oriental potentate. It has suffered from moisture, so that the features of the persons are much defaced. One side shows a seated monarch with a tiara. His left hand is supported by a sceptre; his right rests on the arm of a chair which is supported by a griffin. In front of the potentate we see the charioteer turning to look back at his lord, and standing with his right foot on the ground, while his left is already on the chariot. Of the four horses, one is already eager to be moving. The groom who holds the horses is looking sharply to the right and presenting his back to the spectator. The chariot has no wheels, for the rosette under the box cannot be a wheel. The big block on which the chariot rests is a

¹ The infant Plutos is largely restored. A better copy is found in Athens, and an excellent copy of the torso of Eirene is in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

² Hamdy Bey and Théodore Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon*, 396-411.

curious anomaly. The style indicates that this relief belongs to the middle of the fifth century B.C. The stiffness of the horses, in fact, reminds us of the quadriga metope of Selinus, which is, of course, a century earlier.

Next in order of time comes the "Lycian Sarcophagus" with a high ogive roof and a sphinx and a griffin on either end. On each of the long sides two quadrigas press eagerly forward in a lion hunt. The lion is being struck by the fierce rout. This more



FIG. 115.—Sarcophagus of the Weeping Women. (Constantinople Museum.)

elaborate sarcophagus is beyond question later than the one just described, and may be assigned to the first quarter of the fourth century. The moulding above the panels is exquisite. The whole relief is permeated by a fine Hellenic spirit. In all probability some prince appropriated this sarcophagus, evidently of Greek origin and belonging to a much earlier time than the vault in which it was found.

Of a still later date, probably, is the sarcophagus of the "Weeping Women" (Fig. 115). If not so full of life as the "Lycian sarcophagus," it shows a very great advance over that of the satrap.

Its decoration is also more in keeping with its purpose. Eighteen women in various attitudes of grief are deployed on the four sides of a temple-like Ionic structure. The ornamentation is in exquisite taste. The women, while showing considerable variety of pose, never overstep the measure of grief that is becoming. The border at the bottom contains several hundred miniature figures on a field below the columns and above the "leaf and bud" ornament. This whole sarcophagus is so typically Greek in its restraint that it cannot have come from any other source than a Greek



FIG. 116. — Alexander Sarcophagus. (Constantinople Museum.)

master's atelier. It was probably made to order for a potentate who reigned at Sidon, 374-362 B.C., Stratos I,¹ a pompous Philhellene, devoted to pleasure and surrounded by courtesans and court musicians from Ionia and Peloponnesos. The mourning is continued in the two gables and in the attics, the ends being given up to grief, and the long sides to a funereal cortège. This sarcophagus is the embodiment of grief restrained. It sounds the same note that Thucydides makes Perikles to sound when Athens was sore stricken with the plague. Perhaps nowhere has the idea of bitter grief nobly borne been so exquisitely presented as on this monument.

But the crowning glory of all the sarcophagi is the one now admired under the name of the "Alexander Sarcophagus" (Fig. 116).

¹ Theopompos, frag. 126.

This is about ten feet long and somewhat over six feet high. The cover is in the form of a roof with a gable at each end. Alexander appears as the prominent figure on each of the long sides, in a battle and as the leader in a hunt. Such a sarcophagus was fit only for an Alexander; and yet he was not buried in it. Perhaps the intention may have been that he should lie in it; but if so, the intent was frustrated. This is the most exquisite sarcophagus that the world has ever seen. Wherever ornament was appropriate it was applied, though not to excess. Fourteen bands encircle it. It is not, however, the abundance of ornament but the exquisite finish of each band that marks it as a marvel. Apart from the mouldings, which practically exhaust the whole stock that the Greeks employed, there was the painting, the delicate polychromy, at which all the world wonders. The great scenes on the long sides, a battle and a hunt, beggar description. In both of these Alexander is present as the leading figure. In the battle-scene he comes riding in from the left on a charger, completely identified by the lion's head which he wears. His javelin, here invisible, is like the bolt of great Zeus. Before him horse and rider go down. The weak and trousered Persians are no match for him. Here and there a Greek appears as a helper; but the demigod needs no help. It is, however, possible to identify in the stout spearman on the right, Parmenio, the right arm of Alexander, wearing a low helmet with a visor. In the shock Parmenio overthrows horse and rider opposed to him, and the noble Persian falls, to join the dead and dying who are scattered on the field of battle. There is a touch of pathos in the tenderness with which a Persian receives in his arms the falling antagonist of Parmenio. A Greek near the middle, with a visor like that of Parmenio, is also a doughty warrior, and his antagonist at his feet is begging in vain for life. This Greek has been called Philotas and also Hephaestion. We are, of course, here dealing only in probabilities. Noticeable also is a bareheaded and nearly nude stout fighter who is making havoc of the Persians. The battle goes all one way, as one would expect. The Persians, everywhere marked by

trousers and hoods, go down with little resistance. What we see is an epitome of a battle, whether Issos or Arbela. The Persians, no doubt, gave a good account of themselves, showing loyalty to their king unto death. But here no account is made of the heroism of the beaten. *Vae victis*.

The other long side of the sarcophagus represents a lion hunt. On this side also we see Alexander riding in, bareheaded, from the left with his mantle fluttering in the wind, his spear poised for attack as he approaches the lion. He is marked as Alexander by the diadem around his hair. In front of him is a noble figure, but evidently an oriental. Charging fearlessly upon the lion, he has a more conspicuous position than Alexander himself. His noble horse is done for, although a hooded oriental belabours the lion with a club. It is probable that Alexander appears here as a guest of the potentate whose horse is being devoured. We note that on this side there are fewer figures than on the opposite side: eight men—three on horseback—a lion, and a stag, with two small hunting dogs. The Greeks are all bareheaded.

It appears that Alexander has made a friend of some oriental chief of such noble mien that he must be royal. It is to him, perhaps, that the sarcophagus is to be dedicated. Abdalonymos of Sidon is in all probability the person who here attends the hunt and who is selected to be the king of Sidon. His commanding presence marks him as the future possessor of this royal sarcophagus. He is also the chief figure on one of the short sides, where he rides down with his spear a naked Greek, who presents a shield against the rider. We seldom see such a splendid nude hoplite. Every muscle is tense and brought into play. On either side of the horseman and the fallen fighter, a shielded and helmeted hoplite is making quick work of his antagonist. The one to the right drives his straight blade down into the back of the fallen antagonist, clutching his chin with his left hand. The whole weight of the helmeted man's body sinks the sword to the hilt. One shudders at the sight. On the opposite end another hoplite,

entirely naked, seems about to slay an Asiatic who throws back his shield and bares himself to the slaughter.

The two gables remain to be explained. There is little doubt that in the gable above the scene of the slaughter just described, we are dealing with a murder rather than a battle. The man in the centre in full armour has just given the *coup de grâce* to the man who is falling prostrate. Of the two adjacent actors, the man to the left is delivering a second stab, while the other, behind the protagonist, is preventing any assistance coming to the falling man from that quarter. It has been proposed to identify this scene with the murder of Perdikkas, the pretender to Alexander's inheritance. It is probable that the assassins had already dealt with the fallen hoplites who were trying to help their chief. In the other gable an oriental, perhaps the oft-repeated figure in trousers, is trying to ride down a man in a coat of mail; a similarly coated man lies dead in the left corner. In the right corner we see, corresponding to this fallen man, only a helmet and shield. The motion and grouping of this scene is the only weak feature of the whole decoration of this gorgeous sarcophagus.

A chronological study of the four sarcophagi begins with that of the satrap. There is practical unanimity that the stiff and semi-archaic attitudes compel us to assign it to a date not later than 450 B.C. There is a long road still to travel before we come to the "Lycian sarcophagus," which can hardly be much later than the Parthenon sculptures; and the sarcophagus of the "Weeping Women" seems affiliated to the best work of the early part of the fourth century. It has analogies to Praxiteles' figures on the base at Mantinea. Finally comes the matchless product of a sculptor near the end of the fourth century. Many hands, of course, wrought the wonder; but one mind directed the work.

These sarcophagi have proved beyond all doubt that reliefs were liberally and artistically painted. The sarcophagus of the satrap was practically blank; but that was because of its long exposure to dampness. The next in time, the Lycian, showed considerable polychromy. Then came the "Weeping Women,"

in which paint was made a powerful auxiliary to the sculpture. But when we come to the Alexander sarcophagus, the painter almost outdoes the sculptor. It is not that the latest monument of the group was the most highly painted, but that the earlier ones had lost much of the paint from age and exposure. The satrap's sarcophagus was perhaps not so strongly painted as the later ones, though here also the painter was doubtless called in to supplement the sculptor.

No one can stand before the Alexander sarcophagus as it appears in the imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople without feeling that the Greek painter went hand in hand with the sculptor. Here are the usual colours, red, blue, and yellow, which have always been the prevailing ones; but in minor details the most varied shades come into play. And now the sculptor of reliefs admits that paint is half the work. The controversy has passed; all that we now have to say is, "How unerring is Greek taste!"

Now that we have found that Lysippos' faces have the same deep-set eye as those of Skopas, we may ascribe to him in common with Skopas the unrest which appears in his figures. Praxiteles moves on his way, quiet, and not aspiring to the loftiest realms, presenting Eros, Aphrodite, and other gentle creations, including "mild Hermes." But the Titan, Alexander, has crossed the scene. The great tides of thought and feeling that came in with him are now to be reckoned with. He passed and left no man to carry on the task that he had carved out to be done. It is true that some who tried it did partially succeed. "But what can he do that cometh after the king?"

We now pass to the more or less great "successors," and in so doing we reach another world which goes under the name "Hellenistic." The transition is not violent, but it is real.

CHAPTER V

THE HELLENISTIC AGE, 323-146 B.C.¹

As the glorious, almost superhuman, art of the fifth century could not maintain itself under changed conditions, it naturally gave way to that of the fourth century, which dealt with pathos. The beating of the human heart was felt. It was, however, the Hellenistic Age which, beginning toward the close of the fourth century and continuing to the period of Roman domination, 146 B.C., spread its art over Asia Minor, Egypt, and elsewhere. Let no one dare to speak disparagingly of that art. So grand are some of its products that one may say in a paradox that the best sculpture comes after the best period. There are some who speak out with the courage of their convictions and say, "I prefer the Apollo Belvedere, the Venus di Milo, the Dying Gaul, the Niobe group, and even the Laocoön group and the Farnese Bull group to all that has gone before." And who shall gainsay them? If in some of these cases one may be silenced by a superior critic, what shall be said of the headless Nike of Samothrake? If she is not great, nothing in sculpture is great. The beautiful fifth-century Nike of Paionios is feeble beside her. And what shall we say of the Pergamon sculptures? But let us go on in regular order, not fearing that we are dealing with second or third rate material.

It is true that we are abandoning in some measure the old haunts of sculpture. Argos, Athens, and Sikyon, and other celebrated art centres, no longer produce ; but other art centres take their places. Schools of sculpture arise in cities once of little note, as Pergamon, Tralles, and Antioch. The Seleucid Empire and Egypt produce sculpture that is not to be despised.

Niobe Group.—The Niobe group, the origin of which is in doubt, is invested with a pathos which strikes a new chord. "The human heart by which we live" is seen to beat. Mother,

¹ This period is made to include a number of works which display the Hellenistic spirit, though made later than 146 B.C.

daughter, and sister show intensity of love in death. The cold marble is warm with love and pity. The old Pedagogue forgets himself in his anxiety to save the young boy in his charge. Still more touching is the agonized mother, whose only thought is to protect her daughter (Fig. 117). The keenest arrows are those that pierce her loved ones.



FIG. 117. — Niobe protecting her Youngest Daughter. (Florence, Uffizi Gallery.)

The figures representing the Niobe group are widely scattered. That they come from various workshops is evidenced by the superior excellence of the Niobid in the Vatican over that in the Uffizi, and by that of the Pedagogue in the Uffizi over that in the Louvre. This picture of love in death makes Apollo and Artemis appear mean and spiteful.

Themis of Rhamnus.—

From Rhamnus, but now in the museum at Athens, we have a figure of Themis, so august that she seems gazing out upon us from long

past centuries (Fig. 118). She might stand beside the great works of the fifth century unabashed. That she really belongs in our period is indicated by the chiton, with finest wrinkles girt under her breast. Her himation in broad folds is dropped low enough to show the high girdle.

From Epidauros comes a figure much akin to her, but the hilt of a sword in her hand and a sword-strap drawn diagonally across

her breast mark her as an armed Aphrodite.¹ Her chiton is only a pretence of a covering, letting the nuances of the sweet body appear. The himation falls from her left shoulder, enveloping her limbs. Except for the battered face she would be greatly admired. Her coiffure reminds us of the Lemnian Athena. Her spear and sword-belt are only for show. To put them on such creations is out of place. On the whole she is a Hellenistic combination of Venus Genetrix and Venus Victrix, and not unworthy to be grouped with the more august Themis of Rhamnus.

Nike of Samothrake. — We now pass over from the mainland to some of the islands, and first to the comparatively unimportant island, Samothrake, in the northeast corner of the Aegean, noted mainly from early times for the cult of the Kabeiroi. On this island the gifted and erratic son of Antigonos, Demetrios Poliorketes, set up a trophy for a naval victory over Ptolemy, and proclaimed himself king. The battle was fought in 306 B.C.; but the trophy was erected some six or more years later. The selection of Samothrake may be explained not only by its high cone, prominent and conspicuous from afar, but by the cult of the Kabeiroi. Deme-



FIG. 118. — Themis from Rhamnus.
(Athens, National Museum.)

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 14.

trios, it is true, did not long enjoy his triumph, but became a vagabond, alternately rising and falling. It is not for the man and his fate that we care so much, as for the trophy which he left behind him. This has the form of a prow of a ship of war on which stood Nike with a trumpet at her lips, sounding out to the whole world the triumph of Demetrios. Not only do we have it represented on a large silver tetradrachm, but the huge prow itself, somewhat battered, has been taken to the Louvre, and the Nike stands upon it (Frontispiece). She is without head or arms, but so grand is her attitude that we hardly miss them. The onward rush which she shares with the rushing trireme makes her one of the finest, one might almost say the very finest, of all Greek sculptures. It is the action, the rush, the swing, that makes the whole effect. We regret that the Nike of Paionios at Olympia has lost its face; but we are here so absorbed in the action, that we hardly miss the head, which is usually the first thing that we think of in a statue. The best presentation is from the left side, and so it stands as one approaches it in the Louvre. It is worth a whole gallery of other statues. If we did not know that this splendid piece is a product of the period which some call the period of decadence, we might put it at the head of all Greek sculptures. The three Parthenon sisters have their glory as they tranquilly sit, leaning in easy attitudes one upon the other. They are beautiful in their repose; but the Nike of Samothrake represents glorious action. The upward heaving of the chest and right shoulder is unparalleled in any sculpture; and the twist of the abdominal muscles and the negligent sweep of the garments would be the despair of a modern sculptor. Paionios and other sculptors of the fifth century might well hide their heads before this creation. Only on the Parthenon gables can we seek its equal, and even there, among those august gods and demigods, there is nothing surpassing this power in action. We refuse to believe that the lost head of the Nike of Samothrake could be less glorious than the superb body. The finish also is worthy of the best days of sculpture.

It is vain to try to find a name for the sculptor, but he must have been as great as Skopas. How cheap seems the Nike that Mummius set up at the Hieron of Epidauros, in comparison with this noble creation! As we read on the marble prow the proud Roman's lines, we feel an insult inflicted on what was left of "the glory that was Greece."

Aphrodite of Melos.—There were other great nameless sculptors who carried along the grand style beyond the fourth century. Some may well have inherited this from actual contact with Skopas or Lysippos. The "Venus di Milo" presents unsolved problems regarding her origin, but we need only to touch essentials. This Aphrodite was discovered by a peasant on the island of Melos in 1820 while he was seeking for building stones. Hard by was a theatre, and by a lucky stroke the upper half of the statue came to light. A young marine on a French schooner came and persuaded the peasant to continue the work. This was soon rewarded by the finding of the lower half, which fitted exactly to the upper. Discussions long drawn out as to the circumstances of the discovery of the statue are not yet ended, and perhaps never will end.

This statue (Fig. 119) is beyond question one of the finest treasures, not only of the Louvre, but of the world. It has the rare advantage of possessing a perfect head. The "grand style" is indisputably before us. In this the Nike of Samothrake and the Aphrodite show their kinship. The Nike shows powerful action, the Aphrodite godlike repose. The Nike moves on with a tre-



FIG. 119.—Aphrodite of Melos. (Louvre.)

menhous swing which drives her drapery against her august form. The Aphrodite has in common with the Nike the raised shoulder; but with the Nike it is the right shoulder that is raised, probably to lift a trumpet, while in the Aphrodite this is reversed. The powerful swing of the whole body of the Nike is repeated but toned down in the quiet goddess who inclines to Eros rather than Eris. She is not, however, the shrinking goddess of Praxiteles' creation. She controls and compels by her quiet dignity. She is Virgil's Cytherea. Her drapery is wrapped about her lower limbs, her left leg gently bent at the knee, with her foot raised on a slight elevation, thus preventing her robe from falling still farther down. The magnificent body is marked by large nobility. It is Skopasian rather than Praxitelean, akin to the Athena in the Uffizi. There is a close resemblance between it and the draped torso¹ in Copenhagen, generally regarded as an Aphrodite. The left foot of the Copenhagen statue, however, is raised much higher from the ground. We can see at a glance that the Aphrodite of Capua² and the "Venus di Milo" are variations of the same type, but the difference between them is wide — immensely wide. When one's gaze is riveted on the "Venus di Milo," one cares little for the Capuan. Her sprawling arms detract from the original, and the diadem adds nothing. The restored hands give us no certain clue to their original position.

Probably there have never been so many attempts at restoration as in the case of this broken but august statue. Perhaps they amount to more than a hundred. It has been thought that the goddess held a mirror, and this perhaps has gained most of the suffrages. Closely resembling her is a bronze statue in Brescia,³ holding a round tablet and probably inscribing on it the names of fallen heroes, which has been misinterpreted as a warrior goddess.

The statue in the Louvre has, perhaps, been the subject of more controversy than any other. We are sure that at one time it rested partly on a plinth which was so broken on its left side that

¹ Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 338, No. 3.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 297; Von Mach, 293.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 299; 301.

all that now remains is the end of the sculptor's name (—sandros) and his designation as from Antioch on the Maeander, a city founded in 281 B.C. This plinth was later lost or removed, possibly "with intent to suppress." Excellent authorities declare that there was never any connection between the plinth and the statue.

This Aphrodite, seen at the end of the long gallery, matchless in attitude and in the poise of its noble head, fills one with a sense of the divine. *O, dea certe!*

It is sometimes given to an artist to see, as in a vision, a form grander than mortals. Pheidias was at home with such glories, and even an artist of the Hellenistic age could commune with the greater spirits of old.

A bronze head¹ in the British Museum, found at Erzindyan in Armenia, is a capital example of the Hellenistic spirit. Collignon has pronounced it Skopasian, but apart from the open mouth it seems rather Praxitelean. The bend of the neck, and the hair, especially the two locks falling below the part on the forehead, mark it as a product of the Hellenistic period. We may associate with it a female head (Fig. 120) from Pergamon in Berlin, in which the whole expression of eyes and mouth is so intense as to be classed as Skopasian.



FIG. 120. — Head from Pergamon.
(Berlin Museum.)

Pergamon. — We now come to the sculptures of Pergamon,²

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 120.

² The chief works are *Die Altertümer von Pergamon* and *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*.

the most important of which are the remains of the frieze of the great altar, now one of the chief treasures of art in the Berlin Museum. Pergamon flourished in the third and second centuries B.C., and by careful calculation of chances pushed its way through stronger powers, the most threatening of which was the Seleucid kingdom. Attalos I (241-197 B.C.) for nearly a half century raised the kingdom to its highest pitch. He annihilated the Gauls who attempted to overrun Asia Minor, and when Antiochos III, a restless warrior, pressed him hard, he held his own by allying himself with Rome. When Antiochos was crushed at Magnesia on the Hermos, 190 B.C., there came the great days for Pergamon. Eumenes II, successor and son of Attalos I, reigned nearly forty years, and not only somewhat enlarged his territory at the expense of the Seleucids, but completed and beautified a noted citadel. At the death of Attalos III in 133 B.C. Pergamon was bequeathed to Rome and ceased its high career.

Attalos I, in memory of his victory over the Gauls and their confinement to the heart of Asia Minor, set up trophies. Since he was a Greek and devoted to Greek culture, his first thought was to make his great exploit known at Athens by tokens which took the form of art, groups of bronze statues representing Greeks victorious over barbarians. About 201 B.C. he visited Athens while his laurels were fresh upon him, and presented to the "mother of arts" his token of regard. How patronizing to Athens these Macedonians were! Athens was kindly treated in proportion to its innocuousness. These bronze statues of small size are, as a matter of course, gone forever. One of them was blown down from the south wall of the Akropolis in a gale. Bronze was a much-coveted material and quickly disappeared, being beaten into weapons of war and other objects. But by good fortune marble copies remain to show what the originals were like. In the Naples Museum a dead Gaul lies on his ponderous shield.¹ His sword falls from his nerveless hand. His fierce eye and unkempt hair

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, Nos. 481, 482; Von Mach, 262, 263, 264.

mark the untamed savage. What a contrast to a Greek athlete! Much less barbaric and fierce are other figures. One, whose trousers mark him as a Persian, is already dead. Another is probably a Gaul, holding himself up as long as his arms will support him. An Amazon, one of those figures condemned to lie beautiful even in death, has let her broken spear fall by her side, the right leg drawn up convulsively.

One of the most familiar figures in sculpture is the statue formerly misnamed "Dying Gladiator," now known as the "Dying



FIG. 121. — Wounded and Dying Gaul. (Rome, Capitoline Museum.)

Gaul" (Fig. 121). The Capitoline Museum has few sculptures that can vie with it. This Gaul has fought to the death, and the life blood is flowing from a ghastly wound not self-inflicted.¹ His stiff locks, like a rough mane, are bowing earthward. His arms refuse to support him. Mother earth will receive him. It is strange that he was called the "Dying Gladiator" when he could have been identified by the torque around his neck and his

¹ It has been shown by Belger that the Gaul has not given himself the *coup de grâce*, but has fought to the last. *Jahrbuch* 3 (1888), 150-152.

long curved horn. In the Louvre¹ is another figure not brought so low as the Dying Gaul. Wounded in the left thigh, he still fights. In absence of fierce resistance we should have had mere butchery. Finally we have a scene from the same conflict in which a Gaul,² seeing that his consort has nothing but slavery before her, has slain her, and now holding her by her left arm he drives his stout short sword downward into his own breast with a force that makes the blood spurt out. It is possible that we have in a warrior from Delos³ another figure connected with the Pergamene figures. The shape of the helmet by his side is like those sculptured on the trophies at Pergamon. This is probably a Greek who fights with some chance of victory, since he fights from behind a shield. Thus we have a solitary example of a victor in the fight.

The most impressive feature of Pergamon was its akropolis. Going from the city at its foot to the top, one climbs nearly a thousand feet. This comparatively transient kingdom made the mountain into an akropolis such as was never seen elsewhere. Its excavation by the German Archaeological Institute conducted by Professor Dörpfeld during more than ten years, in continuation of previous excavations carried on by the Berlin Museum, is one of the greatest achievements of our time. The akropolis was flanked by the river Ketios on the east and the Selinus on the west, both of which soon flow into the Kaikos. From the summit the sight is one never to be forgotten. One sees the sea eight or ten miles distant. On the south is the broad plain, with the Kaikos. On the north only is the view somewhat limited. In such a setting was Pergamon. But it is the jewel itself that interests us. Leaving the lower area where the city once stood, we wind our way up and enter the akropolis at its lowest point. We then climb up past gymnasia and enter a broad area surrounded by porticoes. This is the market-place. Another rise brings us to the great Altar of Zeus, which affords the chief interest of the place. If we go farther, we shall pass other terraces, the next being the precinct of Athena

¹ *B.C.H.* 13 (1889), Pl. 1.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 422.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 9; Von Mach, 287.

with its temple foundations. On the upper side of this is another porch, and beyond this was the far-famed library of Pergamon, rivalling that of Alexandria. Still higher up were the temple of Trajan and the royal palace.

To the left one looks down on a theatre, cut into the western flank of the mountain, which is extremely steep. Only a gigantic terrace wall holds it from sliding down into the Selinus. We dismiss details as superfluous for our immediate purpose, and confine ourselves to the great Altar of Zeus, which faced to the west and overlooked the gigantic terrace.

Karl Humann, an engineer, got possession in 1873 of some fragments of the reliefs; and five years later the Germans began the excavations, which with interruptions continued for many years. By the liberality of the Porte the German government was allowed to take possession of the finds and transport them to Berlin.

The altar was practically square, of one hundred feet to each side, with a broad staircase cut into the west side, which took up three fifths of its breadth. The structure was forty feet high. A sculptured band of colossal figures in extreme relief, about seven feet high, encircled the building on three sides; but when it turned the two front corners, it ran up the stairs and ended at the top in a sharp point with a serpent and an eagle. On the platform to which the staircase led up was the real altar. A splendid Ionic colonnade encircled it, and the sacred fire burned in the centre of it. A smaller frieze, on the inside of the great enclosure, served as a parapet, and bore the story of Telephos, but this is so badly broken that its artistic value is nearly gone. This enclosure occupies about two thirds of the great square, the staircase with the colonnade at the top occupying the rest.

The colossal figures of the outside frieze have drawn the attention of the world. Giants with legs ending in serpents' tails, and monstrous wings, doubtless gave rise among the early Christians to the belief that here devils were portrayed, and for that reason this wonderful building is probably referred to in *Revelations* ii. 13 as

"Satan's Seat." We see with what zeal the Christian iconoclasts hammered these figures until hardly a face is left complete. It is, therefore, an immense help in interpreting them that the names are carved on the borders, those of the gods above and those of the giants below. All the greater gods are present, and we are introduced to many more whose names are strange.

We begin here with great Zeus, near the centre of what we may call the chief battle, in which the figures are in considerable measure preserved. His garment hampers him somewhat in the action; but this displays the god. The battle is for no single instant doubtful. On each side of him is a fallen antagonist. On the left a blazing thunderbolt has scorched and annihilated an antagonist—a giant who thought to grapple with great Zeus! The fiery prongs of the forked thunderbolt have pierced him through and through. The mighty king of the celestial gods bares his chest as he draws back his raised right arm to smite down another giant, who falls before him. The giant who has dared to enter the lists against Zeus has already sunk to the earth on his knees before the second bolt has reached him. The mere sight of great Zeus has crushed his foe. But farther to the right is the real, the doughty champion of the giants, bearded and fierce. His buckler is the skin of some wild animal, which he has wound around his arm. His legs end in scaly coils. He is now troubled by the eagle, but his one object is to grapple with Zeus, who has smitten down his two comrades. He it is who dares most, since he meets the father of gods and men. Muscular strength and "courage never to submit or yield" is depicted in the giant's wild face and dishevelled hair; but vain are all the attempts of this wild and untamed creature when Zeus is near! All his attacks and defences are but "sound and fury."¹

Another group of four figures (Fig. 122) vies in excellence and power with the one just presented. Here we see Athena, the

¹ This group shows how thoroughly the Christians had done their work. The faces had been carefully hammered away except the giant's head, which, being in profile and not so high relief, was neglected and escaped.

favourite daughter of Zeus, with her aegis on her breast, "delighting in battle," moving with a grand sweep to the right across the field, carrying death and destruction as she passes. At this moment she seizes by the hair a naked, young, and beardless giant with wings. He has already felt the terrible presence. His fingers clasped around the forearm of the goddess are relaxing, and



FIG. 122. — Part of the Frieze of the Altar at Pergamon. (Berlin Museum.)

he falls to his mother earth, the death agony on his face. But on the right of Athena rises Ge, mother earth, who in agony for her child stretches out her right hand as if to reach her son's left, at the same time appealing to the pitiless goddess. We have pathos carried to extremes. The central figure of Athena clothed with her aegis and bearing a round shield is as vigorous as that of Zeus. But she moves with less effort. Her sweep is easy. On the extreme right a winged Nike comes rushing upon the scene and places a wreath of victory on Athena's head. The pitiless ones move remorselessly on their way across the field. We have enough of agony in the faces of mother and child almost to win us over to the side of the wild forces that are arrayed against Father Zeus.

We have here mentioned the two principal groups, in which Zeus and Athena are predominant ; but there are other groups of hardly less interest. Apollo, reduced almost to a torso, is slaying with his arrows right and left. The triple Hecate is singeing with a torch a giant whose legs end in serpents' coils, on one of which a dog has fastened his teeth. Behind her a nude warrior, armed with helmet and shield, marked as Otos, strides proudly to the right to meet Artemis, while between them is a giant of the usual form, with legs ending in serpents. Otos is a noble figure, but the goddess Artemis confronts him and he must fall. Even the effeminate Dionysos, supported by two Satyrs, draws back his right arm to deliver a telling blow. Amid all this mortal agony there is a delicate touch when Selene, riding side-saddle on a spirited horse with a lion's skin thrown over it, passes swiftly along with her cloak fallen to her hips. This splendid body, with its clinging folds girt just below the breast, is a vision of beauty in the midst of a raging battle. The damage to the face, which is in profile, is a loss indeed.

There are several aspects of this remarkable frieze to be taken into account. We turn back to the ancient gable figures of the treasury of the Megarians at Olympia, which were some four hundred years older than this altar ; and we find the same old theme of the battle between the gods and giants. But how changed ! The display of force is the same, and that is all. The pathos, of which we had touches in Skopas and Lysippos, has now gone on to excess. Relief sculpture has none of the repose of the fifth century. To a sculptor of that time the great frieze would have seemed a travesty of art. The sculpture of Attalos had some restraint, but the reliefs of the great altar are divorced from the principle of relief. The figures stand out practically independent of background. We are rapidly approaching Roman pictorial art.

It is only in comparatively recent times that these sculptures have found their final lodgement. In the last years of the nineteenth century they were lying on the floor of a storehouse of the

Berlin Museum. But at last they have been properly placed in a new Museum. A reproduction of the altar was set up, and the fragments of the relief, as far as they were preserved, adjusted. Of course much is lacking, and it is only by untiring efforts that such a noble monument of a dying civilization has been brought before us. The altar is reproduced in a museum by itself, but the broad staircase is reduced to two narrow ones on each side. The whole altar is enclosed under a glass roof.

Of the smaller frieze, which probably had its place on the inside of the colonnade which rests on the high base, there are many fragments, some incomplete and others so mutilated that it is difficult to gather much more than the subject, which seems to represent the story of Telephos, the legendary hero of Pergamon and son of Herakles and Auge, the unfaithful priestess at Tegea. The story is indeed an interesting one, but the sculptures are not only of inferior workmanship, but badly broken. A single exception may be made in the case of Herakles finding the infant Telephos on Mt. Parthenios, suckled by a hind.

It is sometimes questioned whether we can properly speak of a Pergamene art rather than Asiatic art, and although Pergamon has given us the best of its kind we may perhaps enroll its art with that which began to show itself in the whole Aegean basin. It was fostered by magnates who rose and fell with varying fortunes.

THE RHODIAN SCHOOL. THE LAOCOÖN GROUP

Rhodes, once a leader in ancient art, especially in pottery, had already in the seventh century B.C., and even earlier, a brilliant career. But if in the Hellenistic period much was changed, Rhodes was no mean city in the second century B.C. It even rose to eminence. When Demetrios Poliorketes attacked the city, the stanch citizens came out of the struggle, not only with honour, but with glory. Then, like Pergamon, Rhodes took sides against Antiochos the Great and Philip V. In the war against Perseus it lost all its Asiatic possessions; but by standing firm against Mithri-

dates, in 88 B.C., it gained the favour of Rome. The short interval of forty-five following years was brilliant; but Rome was already supreme and high art was at an end. The Rhodian school, it is true, "had a name to live," as one sees from the list of sculptors from Halikarnassos, Soloi, Chios, Antioch, and Laodicea.¹

The colossos of Rhodes, a work of Chares, was one of the Seven Wonders of the World, but it perished early and passed into the land of fable. There were no tangible remains of the Rhodian school until in 1506 a group was found near San Pietro in Vincoli at the foot of the Esquiline, representing Laocoön and his two sons strangled by serpents (Fig. 123). It was at once identified with the work of the three masters of the Rhodian school — Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodoros — mentioned by Pliny.²

The story so often told that such and such figures were made of a single block is here repeated for the delectation of those who enjoy the marvellous.³ Pope Julius II got possession of the group, and it found its way into the Vatican collection, where it remains. It has been treated as one of the world's greatest wonders. It is no small matter that Winckelmann gave it enthusiastic praise, and that Lessing made it the starting point of his theory of aesthetics in his "Laokoon."

But now that we have gained the proper perspective we have learned to estimate the value of the fulsome praises bestowed on the sculptures of the age of decline. If Lessing had seen the Parthenon sculptures, he would not, perhaps, have taken the Laocoön group as his starting point of a theory of aesthetics. In fact he did not realize that it belonged to the period of decline. — Pain and agony are here paraded and carried to extremes. One revolts against the cruel god who has brought all this suffering upon a righteous man. Laocoön has no time to debate like Job. But he must feel that he who sent the terrible serpents was more a demon than a reasonable god. The whole world pities the father who tries to protect his city and then his sons, and for a return has had

¹ Loewy, *Insc. Griech. Bildh.* 127, No. 159-205.

² Pliny, 36. 37.

³ Pliny, 36. 34, accepts this story.



FIG. 123. — Laocoön. (Rome, Vatican.)

inflicted upon him the most terrible of tortures. We see that the younger son, to the left, has already succumbed. The father's suffering is so great that he no longer realizes that this son is dead, crushed in the coils of the serpents, nor does he see the chances that the elder son has of escaping. He reveals in every fibre of his body the extreme of physical agony made even sharper by the thought of his sons. The real worker of the calamity is unseen. Laocoön was both upright and prudent, and yet he perished miserably with his younger son, who succumbs before the father. It is not improbable that it is intended that the elder son, on the right, should still have a chance for his life. On the face of Laocoön, especially in the eyes, pity and terror are seen in most acute form. In unison with the suffering face, which might readily be compared to that of the crucified one on the cross, we behold every muscle in terrible strain. He is indeed forsaken. Falling backwards upon the altar on which he sacrificed, with his priestly robe fallen from him, we see him stricken down while engaged in his priestly duties. Instead of mother and son, as on the Pergamene frieze, we have the more human father and sons crushed, annihilated by the pitiless serpents. The pathos in both groups is alike deep. In the Laocoön group the greater gods and giants are lacking; but just such pain and pathos as we saw in the youthful giant at Pergamon, struck down by the pitiless goddess, we here behold in increased degree. The giant finds a parallel in the Laocoön.

The striking similarity of the Laocoön to the figures on the great altar at Pergamon show that the group cannot be earlier than the altar; and inscriptions¹ containing the names of Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus show that they lived in the second half of the first century B.C.

We must note here that the group has been badly treated by the "restorers." There is no doubt that it was in the form of a pyramid. Laocoön's right arm should be bent so as to rest upon his head, and the same should be said of the younger son on the

¹ See *A.J.A.* 10 (1906), 101.

left. Here the "restorer" appears in his most odious guise. But if the figure of Laocoön has been disfigured, it is far more shameful that the dramatists, and among them Sophokles, have maligned him and traduced his character.

THE FARNESE BULL GROUP

Still remaining in the Asiatic school or schools, we pass from the Laocoön to a kindred piece of sculpture, and one equally pathetic. It is also in like manner pyramidal in form, but is even more ostentatious than the Laocoön group. The sculptors of this group were from Tralles, and were brothers, Apollonios and Tauriskos, fully imbued with that ostentation which marks the Asiatic school. The group was originally set up at Rhodes, but was carried off by Cassius at the pillage of that city, 43 B.C. After sixteen centuries it came to light again in the baths of Caracalla, sadly mutilated. It was restored and placed in the Farnese Palace, but was finally removed to the Naples Museum, where it is a cynosure to all who admire big and flashy sculptures.

We have here represented (Fig. 124) a cruel scene. Zethos and Amphion, the Theban heroes, sons of Antiope, are taking vengeance on their stepmother, Dirke, for her cruelty to their mother. Our first thought is of the cruel fate of Dirke, because she is beautiful and is now about to be dragged to a merciless death at the hands of the unrelenting youths. It is a sight at which we revolt, not only because the stout brothers have chosen a terribly cruel manner of taking their vengeance, but because it is wreaked upon a defenceless woman. The prancing bull is only an instrument. He will do his conscienceless work. The youths are indeed as relentless as the wild bull himself. Every muscle is brought to bear on the cruel work. If anything could turn the feeling of righteous vengeance into the deepest compassion, it would be the presence of Antiope¹ on the right, gloating over her rival's death-agony and goading her sons on to the torment. Retribution

¹ Seen in Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 367.



FIG. 124.—Farnese Bull Group. (Naples Museum.)

is here so absolutely without remorse that we are brought in turn to pity Dirke. We demand that Antiope must at last forgive, or she is not human. But she stands hard-hearted as the marble out of which she is carved, and we revolt that she does not relent and forgive.

The work is doubtless late and it appears in several copies. On the wall painting at Pompeii, Antiope does not appear. It would be shameless in her to do so. We may believe that the sculptor introduced her as an afterthought. It is quite likely that the Pompeian painting or its prototype was prior to the sculptured group, for we are dealing with art of the first century B.C.

The present building up of this group, more restored than any other, is somewhat dubious. The entire body of Dirke is restored from the navel upwards; both arms are new. On Amphion, who is well hoisted up in the air, forming the apex for the group, both arms and both legs are restored, while the hands and feet are original. Of Zethos, the head, both arms, the left leg, but not the foot, and the right leg, are new. Of Antiope the head, both arms, and the spear are new; also all four legs of the bull, except the hoofs of the hind legs. The dog is entirely modern except his fore paws. Mt. Kithairon personified, a seated youthful figure at the bottom on the right, is well preserved because it is carved largely in relief.

THE "BORGHESE WARRIOR"

This statue¹ in the Louvre, found in the seventeenth century at Antium on the coast, south of Rome, is characteristic of the Hellenistic period when it was just about to run over into the Graeco-Roman. We here see action at the highest pitch of tension. On the left arm the warrior holds his shield, of which there remains only the handle, through which he has thrust his arm. He appears to be intently eyeing his supposed antagonist, while in his right hand (restored) he holds his sword ready to thrust or

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 75; Von Mach, 286.

strike an unguarded foe who should be rash enough to take the offensive. But probably there never was a foe. It was a *pose* for a fight and nothing more. The sculptor has left his name on the tree trunk. He is Agasias, the son of Dositheos, the Ephesian. The letters are those of the first century B.C. The face of the warrior shows the stern joy of battle; it is forceful, but on the



FIG. 125. — Apollo Belvedere. (Rome, Vatican.)

whole vulgar, as we should expect from an attitude of mere show of anatomical excellence. We may praise the show piece because it is excellently done, but beyond that we cannot go. Not so did Harmodios and Aristogeiton pose. Collignon, following Visconti, believes that we should here recognize a man actually fighting a horseman and covering himself with a shield while he looks upward, with his gaze intent upon an antagonist who is about to ride him down. The

condottiere of the time is here pictured as forceful but vulgar, as is often the case with the soldier by profession. Such a man often sweeps the spectator along with him. A swift transformation is now coming over the world. Rome will soon call for her gladiators, and they will be made of such stuff.

THE APOLLO BELVEDERE AND THE ARTEMIS OF VERSAILLES

The statue called the Apollo Belvedere (Fig. 125), because it stands in that part of the Vatican which commanded a fine view over Rome, was for a long time considered as the beau ideal of sculpture, nor need we now regard it slightly, because it may be of a somewhat late period. It has been thought to have kinship with the Pergamene sculptures, and even with the Borghese warrior. It has been perhaps almost as much admired as the "Venus di Milo." It is true that the god is posing. But the pose is splendid. There is no doubt that the archer god has just let fly an arrow. Furtwängler, after long deliberation, declared with Winter¹ that the Apollo is a copy of a work by Leochares.



FIG. 126. — Artemis of Versailles. (Louvre.)

The connoisseurs have in large degree reverted to the belief, doubtless the true one, that the Apollo is a later work. The original was doubtless more superb than the copy, yet we admire the splendid pose when the eye follows the arrow just released, speeding to the mark, which is probably

¹ *Masterpieces*, 408; *Jahrbuch*, 7 (1892), 164.

the Python, though possibly another foe has aroused the wrath of the god. The restorations, probably by Montorsoli, a pupil of Michelangelo, include the left hand, holding a fragment of a bow, the right forearm and hand, the top of the stump, and the top of the quiver which hangs at the god's right shoulder. The slender legs are Lysippean. The hair is done up in a top-knot, which, together with the general slender proportions, give the figure an effeminate air.

Clearly associated with the Apollo Belvedere is the Artemis of Versailles (Fig. 126) in the Louvre. The world has pronounced them twin brother and sister. Instinct has here judged faithfully. Artemis has the same slender proportions as Apollo. Befitting is the energetic stride and the stern, and perhaps scornful, look. Like Apollo the archer huntress is gifted with eternal youth. She wears sandals like those of Apollo. The delicate manner of throwing back the chiton over the left knee is due, perhaps, to a copyist.

THE BELVEDERE TORSO

The famous Belvedere Torso¹ cannot here be passed by, although it is a mere wreck. Head, neck, arms, and all but the stumps of legs are gone, as if a bomb had burst in front of it. What challenges attention is the powerful chest and the enigmatical pose. It is said that Michelangelo when old and blind used to have himself led to the torso that he might pass his hands over its surface. Winckelmann saw in it Herakles reposing from his labours, and gave enthusiastic eulogiums to this "ideal body exalted above nature." But the lack of veins has been supposed to make it belong to the age of decline, and not much, if at all, older than 100 B.C. There is a similarity of pose to that of the so-called Anakreon playing on his harp and looking off sharply to his left.²

Sauer³ has proposed for the torso the name Polyphemos, which

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 240; Von Mach, 246 b.

² Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 568, No. 3.

³ Sauer, *Der Torso von Belvedere*. Giessen, 1894.

Overbeck¹ accepted. But although the torso sits on a rock covered with an animal's skin,² we see no signs of savagery, and may therefore call the figure Herakles. The figure is that of an athlete in good training, and not an overgrown hulk like the Herakles of Glykon. We may put it in the Neo-Attic revival, in which the sculptor covers by his finesse the absence of originality, and shows the overpowering influence of Lysippos in an age which still looked backwards to ancient glories.

OTHER HELLENISTIC WORKS

The colossal Poseidon of Melos (Fig. 127) in the National Museum at Athens has a magnificent pose, and stands at the farther end of a long corridor in much the same position as the Venus di Milo in the Louvre. With his right arm resting on a brand new trident, and his cloak even more precariously fastened to him than that of the Venus, he appears as a *poseur*. He attracts more attention than many other more worthy statues. *Chacun à son goût*. If the date allowed it, we might think of him as saying *Quos ego! Sed motos praestat componere fluctus*. He is marked as Poseidon by an accompanying dolphin, balanced on the tip of its nose and raising up his tail. The god of the sea gripping his trident is by no means contemptible or trivial. But it is a far cry from him to the great days of Pheidias.

The group of the infant Dionysos cradled in the arms of Silenus³ seems inspired by Praxiteles. We have here the same gentleness, as in the older group, but the high tone is lowered. It is still further lowered in a young satyr⁴ dancing, with a large stick and an armful of fruit and flowers, which the baby Dionysos seems to enjoy. The Praxitelean satyr has descended to orgiastic movements.

¹ *Gr. Plastik*, ii. 434.

² Sauer contends that the skin on which the torso sits is that of a leopard; but this discrimination is rather fine.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 64.

⁴ Furtwängler, *Satyr aus Pergamon*, Pl. III. 1; Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii.



FIG. 127. — Poseidon of Melos. (Athens, National Museum.)

The Barberini Faun¹ is a great hulk sunken in a drunken stupor, tumbled back on a convenient rock, which suffices to show his absolute collapse and inability to sit or even stand. How his head seeks the left shoulder! The Hermes of Andros² with the Praxitelean S, a rather noble figure, is much superior to the Melian Poseidon. His downcast, thoughtful look has been supposed to mark him as belonging to a funereal group. The Belvedere Hermes³ in the Vatican is almost a duplicate.

We now deal in personifications which grew up in the times of the Diadochi. Eutychides, a pupil of Lysippos, carved an image of the "Fortune of Antioch."⁴ The whole represents a city set on a rocky hill. The figure sits upon a rock and rests her left hand upon it. On her head is a mural crown. Her foot rests on the shoulder of a youth, representing the flowing river. The seated goddess bears a sheaf of wheat, typifying the prosperity of the great city. Her attitude is superb. Dignity and pride are unmistakable, as befitted Antioch. The maker of the pediment figures of the Parthenon would doubtless have called this carrying symbolism too far.

We may note in passing several nude Aphrodites, which are enough akin to fall into a group. There is a headless nude figure crouching in the bath, found at Vienne.⁵ Akin to her is the famous Venus dei Medici⁶ in Florence, in which all sentiment of modesty has vanished. The sweet afflatus of divinity too is gone. Much sweeter is the dancing Maenad in Berlin.⁷ The upward lifting of the right shoulder shows the splendid full forms. For the rest the drapery covers her completely down to her beautiful feet.

Somewhat akin to the Vienne figure in the adjustment of the

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 4. ² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 18; Von Mach, 191.

³ Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I. 675, Fig. 737.

⁴ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 154.

⁵ Rayet, *Monum. de Part antique*, Pl. 53; Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 370, 371.

⁶ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 374; Von Mach, 202.

⁷ Berl. Mus. No. 208, Kekulé v. Stradonitz, *Die Griech. Skulptur*, 291.

legs is the Subiaco¹ figure, and also Ilioneus.² The other is a small bronze³ representing a goddess removing her sandals for the bath. Neither is lacking in the grace displayed in striking attitudes.

The statues found at Lykosura in Arkadia, 1889-1890, and accredited to Damophon of Messene, have provoked much discussion and controversy.



FIG. 128. — Anytos from Lykosura.
(Athens, National Museum.)

The grand style has seemed to many critics to assign them to the fourth century. Damophon made for the temple at Lykosura a group of colossal figures representing Demeter and Despoina (a local name for Persephone) with Artemis and Anytos (a Titan) on either end of the base. The heads of these two end figures and of Artemis remain. The head of Artemis throws little light on the date, but the head of the Titan Anytos is strong and impressive; leonine, one might say. There is also a Hellenistic flavour in the figures. Anytos

(Fig. 128) reminds us of Laocoön and even of the Zeus of Otricoli. Recent investigation⁴ has shown that the temple at Lykosura must be dated in the second century B.C. The embroidery on the large piece of the stone robe or veil belonging to Demeter or Despoina is eloquent as to the late age of the sculp-

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 249; Von Mach, 226.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 432; Von Mach, 227.

³ Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art, 1904, Pl. 46, No. A 10.

⁴ Dickins, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 12 (1907), 109-136; 13 (1908), 357-404.

ture. As to the extreme lateness considerable doubt has been expressed.

A relief in Parian marble discovered in Rome, now in Munich,¹ represents the marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite, gliding over the waves in a chariot drawn by two Tritons and followed by a cortège of sea divinities, one playing on a lyre, and the other blowing with puffed cheeks on a long conch shell. But for the surroundings the august pair might pass for Zeus and Hera. The bent head of Amphitrite is especially attractive and charming. The grand style is here charmingly combined with the more playful Hellenistic. Erotes flutter about, monstrous and fantastic creations, introduced to mark the connubial nature of the scene. In the great fold of a sea monster a Nereid sits gracefully in a fine and transparent garment. The whole rout bounds over the waves full of joy and gladness. This splendid train has been thought by some critics to have been inspired by Skopas, but it was probably made to decorate an



FIG. 129. — Bronze Youth found in the Sea near Antikythera. (Athens, National Museum.)

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 124. One slab is in the Louvre.

altar in front of the temple of Neptune erected in Rome about 35-32 B.C. by Domitius Ahenobarbus.

A statue in bronze, found in the sea near Antikythera in 1900, has been much discussed (Fig. 129). It was one of a whole ship-load of statues collected probably for the journey to Rome. This statue has lost some of its value from the treatment given it by André, the French restorer, who subjected the whole surface to a sort of restoration after the antiquated fashion. The scraping and obscuring of the joints of the ancient pieces has robbed this great treasure of much of its beauty. We are mainly interested in the attitude of the figure, several interpretations of which have been presented, *e.g.* an athlete holding a ball in his right hand, or Perseus holding out the Gorgon's head at arm's length. All these interpretations may be wrong. Perhaps the solution is found in the fact that we are dealing with a Hellenistic product which shows features of both Praxiteles and Lysippos. Waldstein,¹ who at first regarded it as Praxitelean, subsequently ascribed it to Skopas.² Together with this statue there were certain smaller objects, especially two bronzes of small size, that are especially precious because they have not been tampered with. But the large statue is the pride of the National Museum at Athens.

The Zeus of Otricoli, which was once admired beyond all propriety, has dropped to its proper place as Hellenistic (p. 172). There is, however, a similarity between it and the noble head of Asklepios of Melos (p. 228), but the difference is far greater than the similarity. The Asklepios comes nearer to the prototype, and is full of nobility, while the Otricoli bust is simply big. If the face were distorted by pain, it would resemble Laocoön. Furtwängler³ declared that the bust from Otricoli is the Praxitelean development of a type created in the days of Myron. But the reason for this belief is difficult to see.

¹ *Monthly Review*, June, 1901, 110.

² *Illustrated London News*, June 6, 1903.

³ *Masterpieces*, 190. Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 130; Von Mach, 487.

A group of colossal statuary called "Menelaos and Patroklos"¹ in the Loggia dei Lanzi at Florence has become famous; but a good deal of what we now behold is restoration, the head, neck, upper part of the body, and both arms. Patroklos has lost both arms and suffered many abrasions. In spite of all this we have an impressive group. The representation shows Menelaos rescuing the body of his friend and carrying him to the ships. Sorely pressed, he is about to drop his dear burden on the ground. The gentleness with which he lowers it is as touching as anything in sculpture. Menelaos should, however, be restored as looking up and back at the foes who are trying to surround him. The famous "Pasquino" in Rome had the proper attitude, and was an excellent statue, before it was battered almost beyond recognition. There is perhaps no other statue of the Hellenistic age that shows so much pure pathos in spite of its neglect. The Hellenistic Age is here amply acquitted of decadence and juveneness.

We may here mention the Nile, represented as a river god in human form.² His head partakes of the types of Zeus and Poseidon; but he is unmistakably made a god of Egypt, since he leans upon a sphinx, and has a crocodile and an ichneumon at his feet. We have already seen Antioch personified. We are now led farther into allegory by sixteen little figures, once almost entirely obliterated, representing the sixteen cubits which the river reaches in its maximum inundation. That we are in Egypt is also shown by the waves and plant life. The cornucopia too speaks of the abundant fertility. Here allegory reaches its utmost bounds. The sculptor has endeavoured to tell everything; but by overcrowding has confused the representation. It is well that the reliefs on the base representing the daily life of the Egyptian people are relegated to the back and two ends of the base, where they do not draw attention from the main theme. The sixteen diminutive figures fill up many void spaces and enliven the representation of the gigantic river-god.

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 346; Von Mach, 277. ² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 196.

It has been declared, and with some probability, that this statue, which was found in Rome, marked the site of a temple of Isis.

We are now passing to either trivial or terribly realistic representations. There were Greeks who were far from ideal. The bronze head found at Olympia¹ thrusts this truism upon us. A



FIG. 130. — Ludovisi Hera. (Rome, Museo delle Terme.)

head could hardly be more brutal, whether looked at in front or in profile. It is that of an out-and-out bruiser. We might have known that boxing would bring such men to the fore. He has doubtless transformed many a beautiful face into ugliness like his own. His calling is read in every feature of his face. We feel that not all the athletes of Greece were pleasant men to meet. The sculptor has here depicted without restraint the flattened nose, the thick neck, the puffy cheeks, and the projecting lips. The date of this excellent, but repellent, portrait is hard to determine. It may have

been made even before the beginning of the Hellenistic period, though its unrestrained realism seems to indicate a later date. The bronze boxer in the Museo delle Terme² seems more brutal even than the Olympic boxer. The hollows for his eyes, once filled, are here open, which increases the sinister expression. He may be some prisoner who has served as a professional in a

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 247.

² *Ibid.*, No. 248.

Roman show, if we may judge from the terrible cestuses of metal. In these two interesting but horrible figures Greek sculpture comes to an end, except for a revival of the antique, harking back even to the archaic style.

The colossal head called the Ludovisi Hera (Fig. 130) was formerly regarded as a work of the fourth century B.C., or even as a copy of the famous Hera of Polykleitos; but it is now evident that it is a Roman work, probably a portrait of some lady of the imperial family, in which the grand style of earlier days is imitated.

In Rome the so-called archaizing style became the rage. Its first representative was Pasiteles, a Greek born in southern Italy. He enjoyed the citizenship of Rome, and was a friend of the famous comedian Roscius, who flourished in the first century B.C. He was a contemporary of Pompey, Cicero, and the poet Archias. Varro took pleasure in praising an artist

who was a Roman citizen by adoption, and not one of the "needy and seedy" Greeks, who came to Italy to acquire a beggarly subsistence. Although we have no work of Pasiteles' hand we trace his style, and at least have an idea of what his works were like, from his pupils, of whom one of the most prominent was Stephanos, who is represented by a statue in the Villa Albani.¹

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 301; Von Mach, 321.



FIG. 131. — So-called Orestes and Electra.
(Naples.)

We here see the very slender proportions of an athlete, who might be a gentleman, a figure of the austere style. Toned down and softened, the statue seems to give an equivocal expression. Through this antique one feels a false note. There is sometimes a suggestion of Polykleitos or some other master; but it is not genuine. It is perhaps generally now admitted that Stephanos took as a model an Argive bronze of an athletic victor of the early part of the fifth century, perhaps made by some pupil of Hagelaidas. Several groups in marble show this style, which we may call late Argive. The two best representatives are the so-called Orestes and Electra (Fig. 131) in the Naples Museum, and the Orestes and Pylades.¹ These names, however, are untrustworthy. Another group of mother and son,² in the Museo delle Terme, is inscribed as the work of Menelaos, who was a pupil of Stephanos and lived under Augustus or Tiberius; but the line is weakening; the trace of the heroic is lost.

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 307; Von Mach, 323.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 309; Von Mach, 322.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Arch. Zeit. = *Archäologische Zeitung*.

Ath. Mitt. = *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*.

B.C.H. = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*.

Ephem. Arch. = *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*.

Jahrb. = *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts*.

J.H.S. = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

Rev. Arch. = *Revue archéologique*.

Röm. Mitt. = *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*.

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¹ The author and editor are indebted for this Index to Dr. Kendall K. Smith, of Harvard University.

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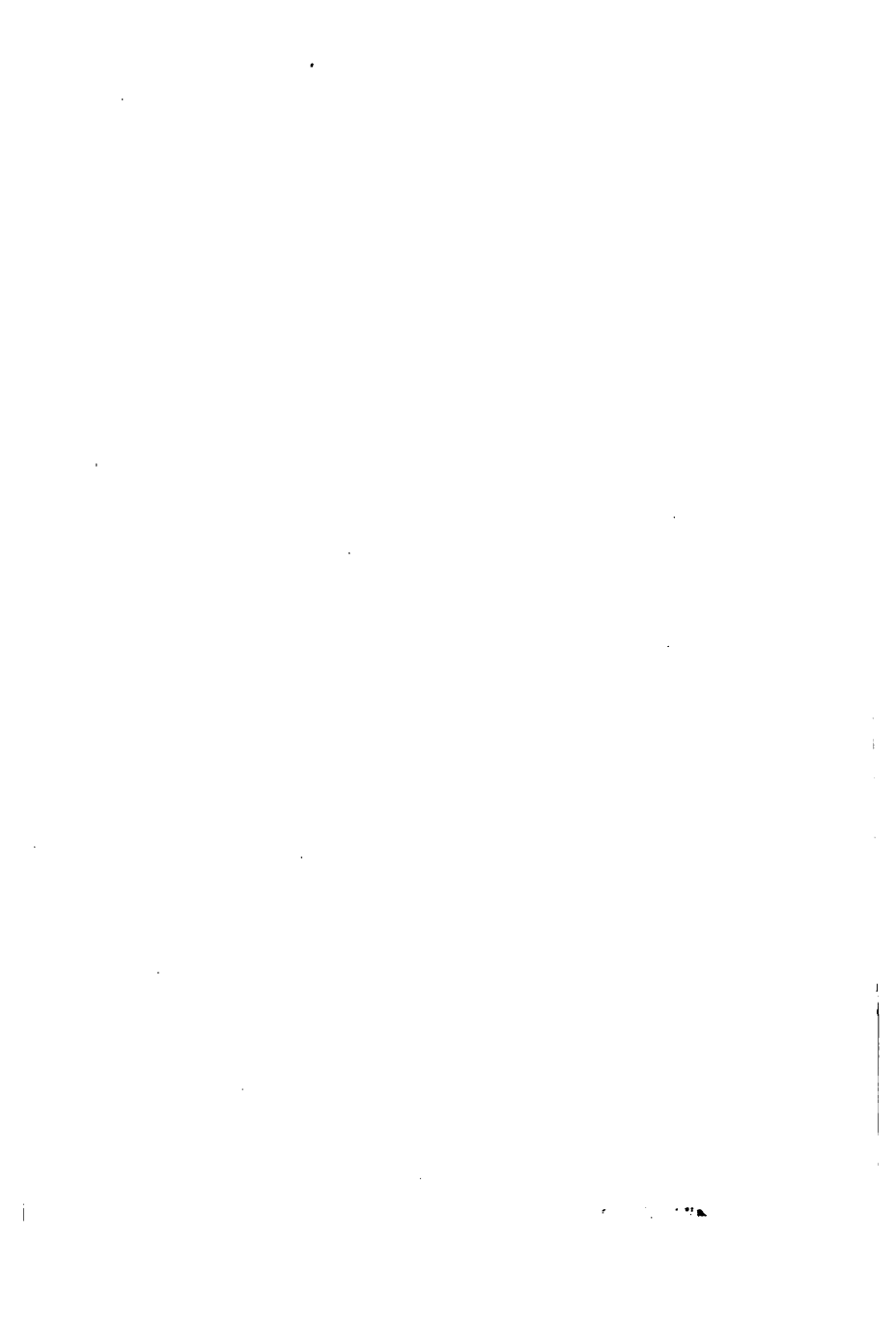
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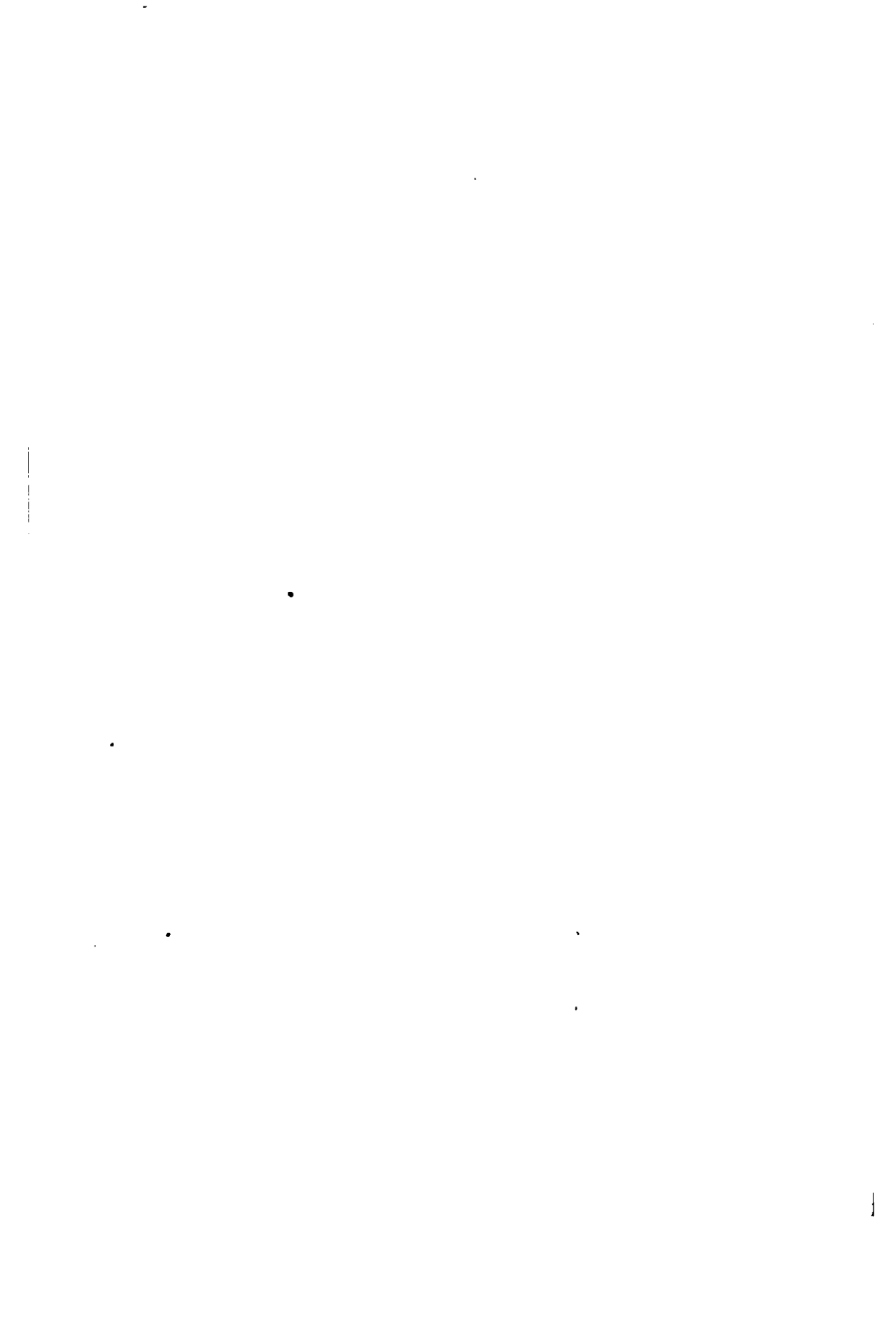
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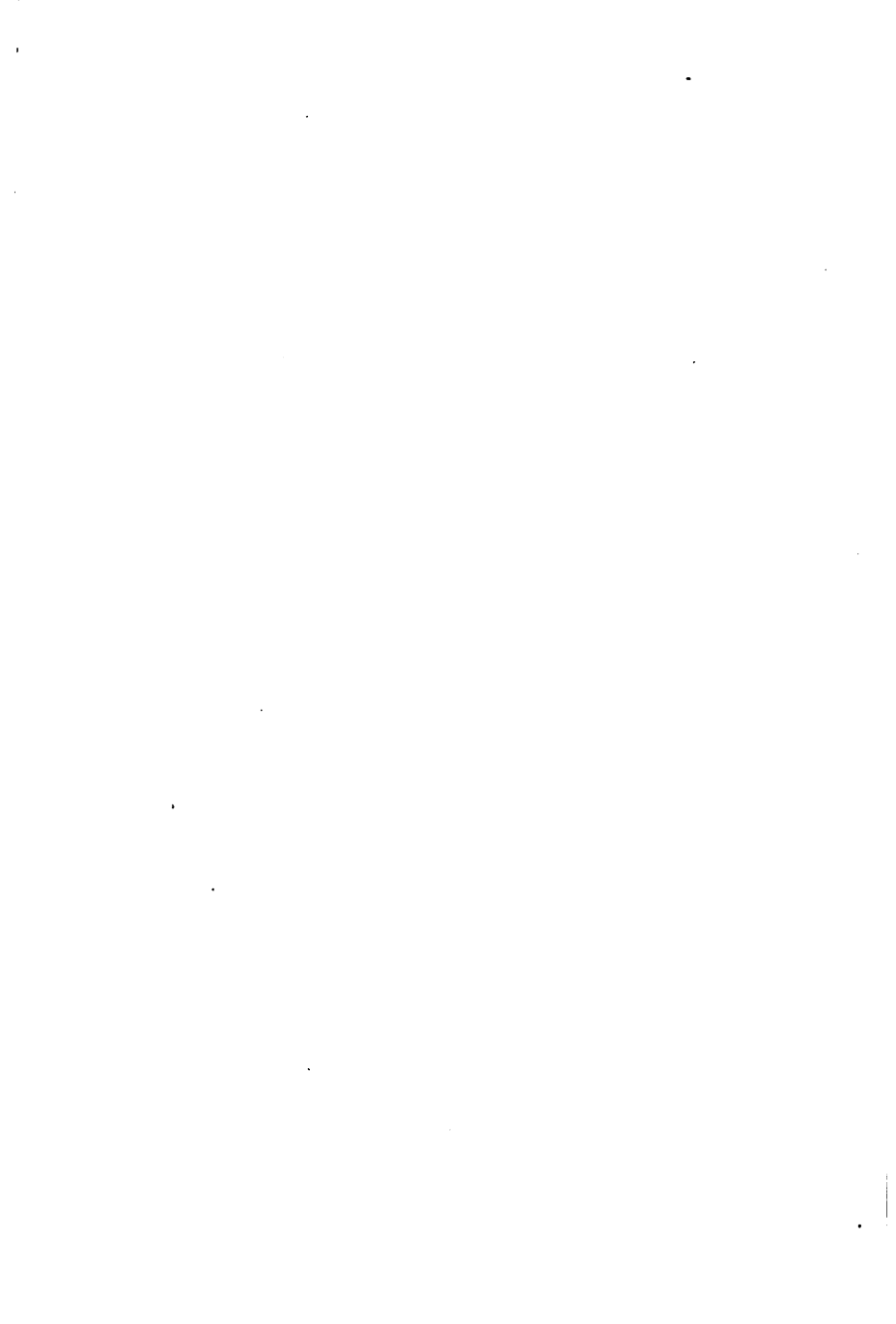
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